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SINTRA QUELUZ PENA

#03 / 2020



NATIONAL PALACE OF SINTRA

THE SILVER BED OF THE DUKES OF CADAVAL

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THE SILVER BED OF THE DUKES OF CADAVAL

Parques de Sintra
Monte da Lua

On the cover:

The silver bed of the Dukes of Cadaval at the National Palace of Sintra

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Parques de Sintra
Monte da Lua

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Foreword

ENRICHMENT OF THE NATIONAL COLLECTIONS

In recent years, Parques de Sintra – Monte da Lua (PSML) has made several striking acquisitions, not merely in terms of the collections held at the palaces it manages but also in the context of the broader panorama of the national collections, demonstrating a commitment to the preservation and subsequent public enjoyment of Portuguese heritage. These additions have benefitted the collections of the National Palaces of Sintra, Queluz and Pena with some extraordinary pieces of unique rarity and museological value that are on public display. Worthy of particular mention are the acquisitions of items closely linked to the collections of the royal family and the high ranks of the courtier nobility.

In 2016, an Iberian-made silver-gilt tazza dating from 1548 was acquired for the National Palace of Pena. This erudite piece of supreme craftsmanship was added to King Fernando II's collection of antique silverware and left Portugal after his death in 1885. It was part of the set of objects inherited by the king's daughter Antónia, *Infanta* of Portugal and Princess of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and was then sent to Germany. It reappeared in 2012 at an auction in London where it was bought by the same Portuguese antiques dealer from whom it was acquired, many years later, by PSML. [fig. 1]

In 2017, a painting "portraying" the country house of the Quinta de Queluz from the time of the marquises of Castelo Rodrigo was added to the holdings of the National Palace of Queluz. This was an important acquisition from a historical and iconographic point of view, as it is the only known depiction of the Queluz property prior to the establishment of the House of the *Infantado* and the building work undertaken by *Infante* Pedro (King Pedro III), lord of the House of the *Infantado* and king consort (1760) through marriage to Queen Maria I. In the painting, it is possible to make out the initial course of the River Jamor and the residence with courtyard, an arched balcony, outhouses and gardens. [fig. 2]

It is to this line of important additions that we can add the purchase in December 2016 of a carved and silver-embellished 17th-century canopy bed made of Mozambique blackwood with a view to its incorporation into the collections of the National Palace of Sintra, thereby indubitably contributing to the enrichment of the nation's heritage. The third volume in the series of monographs entitled "Collections in Focus" is dedicated to this state bed, a piece of furniture and silverware which is one of a kind in Portugal. Only two beds of this type, originally belonging to the ducal houses of Cadaval and Aveiro, still survive, remarkable testimonies to the rich heritage of the Portuguese Crown and the major noble houses at the time of the Portuguese Restoration. A similar bed would have been used at the Royal Palace of Sintra during the funeral ceremonies for King Afonso VI (†1683) held in the Magpies and Swans Rooms.

Three years after its acquisition, the studies undertaken on its origins, various owners and successive assemblies were completed. The details of its very careful restoration and the veritable puzzle involved in its installation in the National Palace of Sintra generated noticeable excitement among the PSML's multidisciplinary teams and all the other people engaged in this project, whose efforts I publicly acknowledge here. This volume in the "Collections in Focus" series aims to stand as a lasting testimony to this initiative, which is a great source of pride to us all.

As regards the museums and archives, we must also mention the very kind loan of images from the Royal Collection Trust – Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Detroit Institute of Arts, Museu de Artes Decorativas Portuguesas of the Fundação Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva, Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas de Madrid, Casa Reynaldo dos Santos e Irene Quilhó dos Santos, Hispanic Society of America, New York, Château de Versailles, Cooper Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum and Museo de la Virgen de la Asunción, Patrona de Elche.

Dorabela Charneca
Member of the Board of Directors

Parques de Sintra – Monte da Lua, S.A.



[fig. 1]

Tazza

Silver gilt. Iberian Peninsula, Lisbon (?), 1548 (dated).
21 cm (height) x 29.5 cm (diameter).
The foot was added at the beginning of the 18th century.

National Palace of Pena
PNP3526

© PSML | Photo: João Krull, 2016



[fig. 2]

View of the Quinta of Queluz at the time of the Marquises of Castelo Rodrigo

Oil on canvas
Italy, 18th century (1st half)
144 x 205 cm

National Palace of Queluz
PNQ 3926

© PSML | Photo: Luís Duarte, 2017



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#03 / 2020

Inês Ferro

Curator at the National Palace of Ajuda
Director of the National Palace of Sintra from 1999 to 2019

THE INCORPORATION OF THE CADAVAL BED INTO THE NATIONAL PALACE OF SINTRA COLLECTIONS

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The incorporation of the so-called "Cadaval Bed" into the National Palace of Sintra's permanent exhibition is a matter of paramount importance. Firstly, because it allows everyone to enjoy an object which is exceptional in every way. Secondly, because it brings into the Portuguese museum context a bed that, although widely talked about by experts and curators, is of a kind which has been missing from the national collections.
It is interesting to note that at the time of the death of King Afonso VI – on 12 September 1683 at the Royal Palace of Sintra, where he was being held prisoner by order of his brother, Pedro II – the unfortunate king's body was placed on display "*na casa das pegas*" (Magpies Room)[1] on a "*leyto chapiado de prata com hua cama de Damasco carmezim*" (silver bed with crimson silk damask bed hangings).[2]

This state bed, made of Mozambique blackwood[3] embellished with silver, belonged to the House of Cadaval until 1953 and was acquired by Parques de Sintra – Monte da Lua (PSML) in December 2016. Recent research indicates that it was almost certainly made in Portugal in the second half (end?) of the 17th century. Only one other bed of the same size, morphology and silver decoration exists, bequeathed by the 7th Duke of Aveiro to the Basilica of Santa Maria de Elche in Spain.

After its acquisition, the bed immediately underwent a thirteen-month conservation and restoration process by a team of experts. This involved an in-depth material and technological analysis of the bed using various tests and studies. It was then dismantled and its various ornamental metallic parts cleaned, treated and secured.

A number of researchers were invited to accompany this process, which they did enthusiastically, studying various themes related to the bed such as the materials

and techniques, dating, production context, history, function and ornamental language. These studies resulted in the six chapters that make up this third volume of "Collections in Focus | National Palaces | Sintra Queluz Pena", a PSML initiative aimed at publishing and disseminating recent original research on objects, people and themes related to items found in these three royal palaces.

Hugo Xavier, an art historian and curator at the National Palace of Pena, retraces the bed's history, its different owners and its emergence on the art market after being sold by the Cadaval family, as well as the observations of the researchers who examined it. Manuel Lemos, Matthias Tissot, Isabel Tissot and Maria João Petisca, conservators, provide a material and technical description of the bed's metal and wooden elements based on its examination, conservation and restoration. Celina Bastos, an art historian and researcher at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (MNAA), discusses the bed's historical context and its exceptional nature in terms of 17th-century Portuguese beds. Moreover, through the study of inventories and other documentary sources, she identifies other non-surviving state beds with silver decorations. These records also confirm the bed's connection with the entailed estate of the House of Cadaval, established in 1699 by the first Duke.

Teresa Leonor Vale, a lecturer and researcher at the Instituto de História de Arte of the Faculdade de Letras / Universidade de Lisboa, analyses the decorative silver elements based on their ornamental language and the interpretation of the underlying iconography, from the perspective of the bed's functionality and use. Maria João Ferreira, an art historian and researcher at the Centro de Humanidades of the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa/ Universidade dos Açores , analyses the different textile components that "dress" the state bed bearing in mind the linen used for similar pieces in the mid-17th and early-18th centuries. The series of texts is rounded off with a study by the Spanish historian Joan Castaño García, responsible for the archive of the Patronato del Misteri d'Elx and director of the Museo de la Virgen de la Asunción, Patrona de Elche, on the only other Iberian example of this kind of bed that we know of. This was given by the 7th Duke of Aveiro in 1745 to the Virgin of the Assumption of Elche, the patron saint of Elche whose holy image is still shown every year on this bed during the Feast of the Assumption.

After acquiring the Cadaval bed for the National Palace of Sintra, and once the priorities relating to its conservation and study had been dealt with, it was important to consider its public display. After assessing the spaces within the permanent exhibition and their restrictions and associated functions, the choice fell upon a room known until July 2019 as the "Guest Room"[4], bearing in mind the bed's size, its safety, the direction of natural light within the room and its widest possible viewing by groups of visitors.

The arrangement of the decorative elements also required thorough reflection and broad input. The alignment of the detachable silver details on the two headboard crossbars and the tops of the four posts had been restored and altered over time. Some were older than the group of so-called "original" items, though, to date, there are no known iconographic or documentary resources that can serve as a "blueprint" for an original and definitive layout. What we do have are three photographically documented versions of the arrangement of these elements from the recent past[5]. The Duke of Aveiro's bed in Elche, which, despite some differences, is very similar in shape and decoration – with the same cypresses and the two types of bouquets, for example – was an essential reference.

After several attempts, based on the existing visual documentation, and without precluding other possible solutions in the future, it was decided to attach the four main bouquets to the top of the bedposts; alternate the five cypresses, six bouquets and twelve stems with flower buds on the upper crossbar of the headboard; and fix the six stems with flower buds to the lower crossbar of the headboard [fig. 1].

This decision meant that all of the detachable decorative elements available could be included – without any addition or removal – and the method of attaching the elements to the structure could be maintained. In fact, the other possible arrangement, which was closer to that of the Elche bed but was rejected [fig. 2], entailed intrusive changes to reduce (narrow) the brass housings on six pieces and create a new element in the form of a cypress [fig. 3]. The attachment of the main bouquets to the top of the four bedposts is, however, identical to the Elche bed and mentioned in contemporary descriptions of similar beds[6]. This alignment also meant that the continually alternating and symmetrical rhythm of the decorative elements on both headboard crossbars could be maintained, as was customary at the time.



[fig. 1]
Cadaval bed. Headboard. Full view. Current appearance.
© PSML | Photo: João Krull, 2019

As regards the "dressing" of the bed and the quality and form of the textile elements, it was taken into account that there was no known document on the textile ornamentation of this bed and that the characteristics of the textiles chosen had to be limited to suit the conditions of its conservation. Bearing in mind the incompatibility of textiles which could cause oxidation of the silver (e.g. sulphur-releasing wool or silk protein fibres), a velvet made of plant fibre (cotton) was chosen in "crimson" red, a colour commonly used in state environments and furniture at that time, imitating silk velvet. Gold appliques common in this era, with galloons, fringes, brocade or lace, were not used. Crimson silk velvet was also the fabric used on the Elche bed when bequeathed to the Sanctuary by the Duke, as described at the time[7]. The form of the quilt, bedspread and canopy are therefore simplified suggestions that evoke the bed's integral functional elements, which it is impossible to recreate today, also due to the fragility of the object itself.[8]

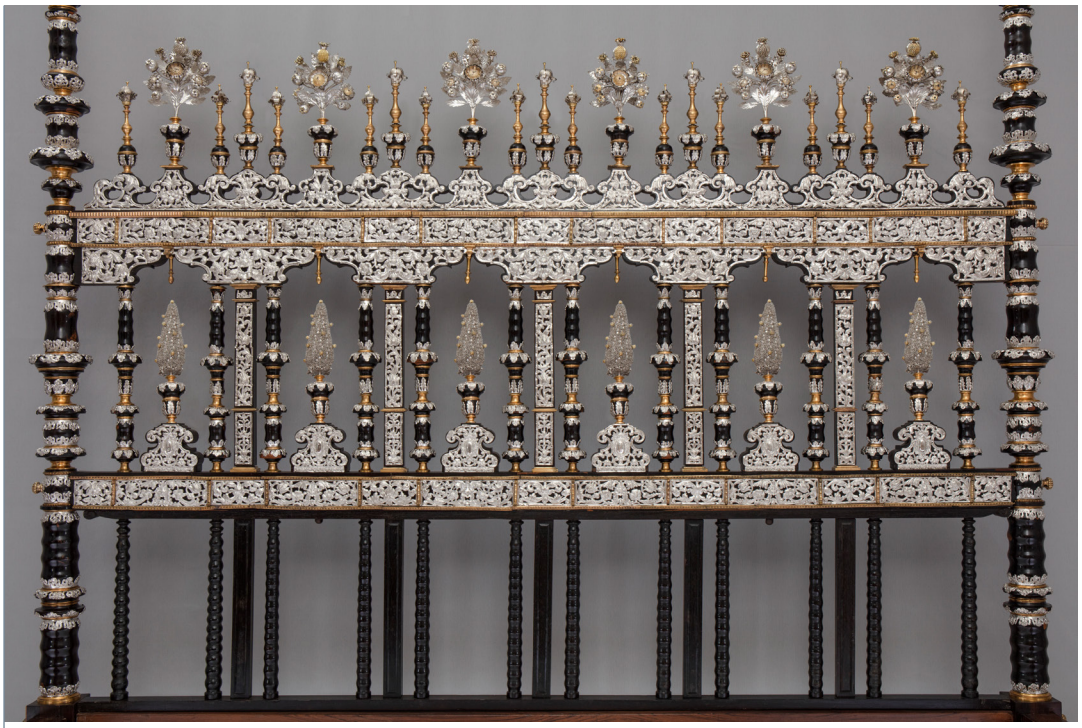
The silver bed of the dukes of Cadaval is exhibited with other pieces of furniture and silverware common in the homes of the 17th-century Portuguese elite. Despite the lack of tapestries, rugs and armorial hangings (*panos de armar*)[9], this arrangement aims to evoke a state and representative setting. The crimson velvet cloth with gilt galloons and fringes[10] covering the side table, in a rich fabric similar



[fig. 2]

Virgin of Elche bed. Headboard. Detail.

Photo: Fernando Montesinos, 2017



[fig. 3]

Cadaval bed. Headboard. Full view. Photomontage.

© PSML | Photo: João Krull, 2019
Image edited by Cláudio Marques

to that of the quilt, recalls the habit of using uniform textile decoration for this type of room (curtains, pelmets, chairs, stools and covered tables).

Seeing this piece finally incorporated into the collection of the National Palace of Sintra, after a somewhat turbulent past and a succession of different owners, is a source of great joy to all those involved. This feeling will no doubt be shared, from now on, by many others.

····· § ·····

NOTES

1 *Livro 3º dos Baptisados desde 1655 até 1686, dos Recebimentos e dos Óbitos*, fl. 271. Transcription of the Count of Sabugosa in the book *O Paço de Cintra* (1903), page 133, note 2.

2 Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), *Colecção de São Vicente*, Book 20, *Relasão do que se fez em sintra na morte de sua mg.de q. D.s tem*, fls. 502 and 503. 17th century. Undated.

3 Proposed identification of the wood by art historian Celina Bastos, corroborated by recent scientific examination conducted during its restoration.

4 Now known as the "Room with a 17th-Century State Bed".

5 A photograph of the first version was published in 1953 in *História da Arte em Portugal* by Reynaldo dos Santos. Photographs of the second version, by Robert Smith, were published in 1972 in the monograph *A propósito duma "cama imperial" dos Marqueses do Cadaval,* written by Bernardo Ferrão. Photographs of the third version were published in 2000 in an article written by Anísio Franco in the magazine *Arte Ibérica*.

6 On this subject, see the chapter by Celina Bastos.

7 See the chapter by Joan Castaño García.

8 I would like to thank Maria João Ferreira for sharing her thoughts on the textile decorations that should be evoked. See her chapter in this publication.

9 This type of armorial hanging was designed to be placed on walls, corners (*cantonate*), over doors (*portières*) and between windows (*entrefenêtres*) in a formal interior.

10 I would like to thank Fernando Montesinos, curator at the National Palace of Sintra, for the iconographic study comparing court portraits from the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain, above all from the 17th century. The portraits helped to ensure the accurate evocation of this textile element, associated with the side table (*bufete*), a piece of furniture that is highly representative of this period in Portugal.



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#03 / 2020

Hugo Xavier

Curator at the National Palace of Pena and Palace of Monserrate
Parques de Sintra - Monte da Lua, S.A.

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS AND THE ART MARKET:

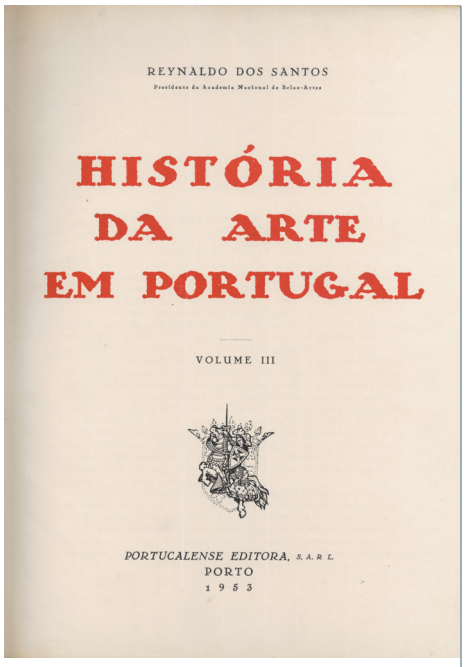
THE BACKGROUND TO THE "CADAVAL BED"

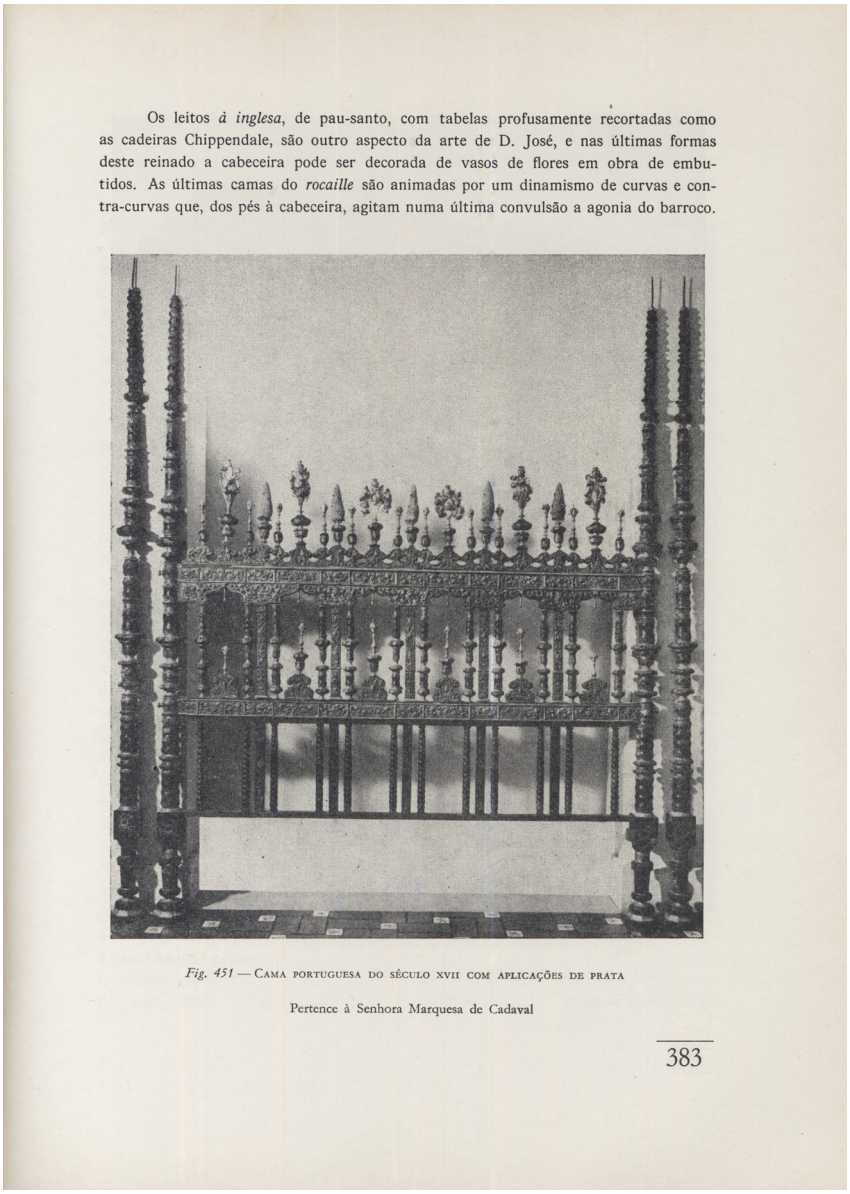
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In 1953, in his chapter on 17th- and 18th-century decorative arts in the *História da Arte em Portugal*, Reynaldo dos Santos referred to a bed that was hitherto unknown, unmentioned in any earlier study or specialised exhibition. Considered "*um dos espécimens mais ricos que conhecemos*" (one of the most lavish examples we have seen) by the author due to its abundance of silver, the bed belonged to the Marquise of Cadaval, Olga Maria Nicolis di Robilant Álvares Pereira de Melo (1900-1996), who gave her permission for the photographs taken by Mário Novais [fig. 1] in January of that year[1] to be reproduced [fig. 2].[2] These photographs were intended for a book on Portuguese gold and silverware in private collections published later by Reynaldo dos Santos and his wife, Irene Quilhó, in which the bed, ultimately, did not feature.[3]

By analysing the image, and by means of the small square terracotta floor tiles (*lambrilhas*), we can see that it stood in the Quinta da Piedade, in Colares (Sintra), a property restored by the marquise and her husband, António Álvares Pereira de Melo (1894-1939), when they settled in Portugal in 1929. This old summer estate, which was damaged during the Peninsula War and was used as a local market in the early 20th century, underwent construction work and was brought back to life by the marquis and his wife, who transformed it into their main residence.[4]

The Cadaval family, which had been established in France for two generations, went into prolonged exile after the triumph of liberalism in 1834, leaving a vast patrimony under the administration of its servants. Responsibility for resolving this state of affairs befell the marquis and his wife themselves, who set in train the reorganisation





Os leitos *à inglesa*, de pau-santo, com tabelas profusamente recortadas como as cadeiras Chippendale, são outro aspecto da arte de D. José, e nas últimas formas deste reinado a cabeceira pode ser decorada de vasos de flores em obra de embutidos. As últimas camas do *rocaille* são animadas por um dinamismo de curvas e contra-curvas que, dos pés à cabeceira, agitam numa última convulsão a agonia do barroco.

Fig. 451 — Cama portuguesa do século XVII com aplicações de prata

Pertence à Senhora Marquesa de Cadaval

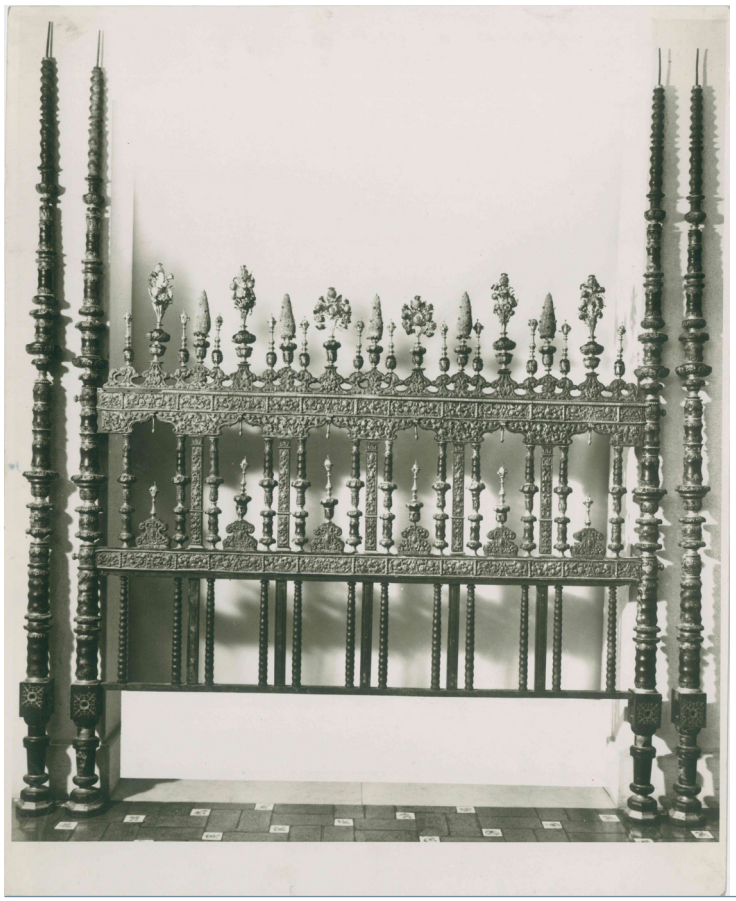
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[fig. 1]

Title page and inner page with a reproduction of the bed in volume III of *História da Arte em Portugal* by Reynaldo dos Santos, 1953.

Library of the Palácio Nacional de Sintra

© PSML



[fig. 2]

The bed and a detail of the headboard photographed in 1953 by Mário Novais.

Casa Reynaldo dos Santos e Irene Quilhó dos Santos
Photographic Archive
F-009288 and F-003524

© CMC - CRSIQS / Arquivo Photográfico
Courtesy of the Câmara Municipal de Cascais



and renovation of the family's properties. In Sintra alone, these amounted to at least three farms (Bela Vista, Capela and Piedade), which complemented the estates and palaces of Muge, Évora, Alvito (Água de Peixes), Benavente (Mata do Duque) and Pedrouços, not to mention various leased buildings in Lisbon, among others. Notably, this change was not the work of the head of the family, the 9th Duke, Nuno Álvares Pereira de Melo (1888-1935), but rather his brother António, married since 1926 to Olga Maria Nicolis di Robilant Álvares Pereira de Melo, member of an illustrious family of Italian aristocrats. As the son second of a duke, António used the title of marquis, and his wife that of marquise.

Known for her patronage of music, support for young talent and for bringing renowned musicians and composers to Portugal, the marquise also played an important role as an administrator, especially after the death of her husband in 1939. After her mother-in-law's estate was shared out following her death in 1952, Maria Graziella inherited the Muge property and Sintra farms, where some of the family's movable heritage was stored.

During the Cadavals' long exile, most of their artistic and documentary heritage was concentrated at Quinta de Pedrouços, the family's main residence since their Lisbon palace in Rossio had been destroyed by the earthquake in 1755. Dating back to the mid-1600s, and enhanced in the following century with a riding arena, this large country estate was sold in 1939 for use as a guesthouse for visitors to the Portuguese World Exhibition the following year,[5] resulting in the dispersal of its contents.

In a long article published in 1908, Carlos Malheiro Dias referred to this residence as "*uma arrecadação de preciosidades, mais apropriada a um inventario do que a uma descripção*" (a store of precious things more suited to an inventory than a description), mentioning the family portraits and other easel paintings concentrated in several rooms, the tapestries and carpets folded on the tables, and the oriental and European porcelain, in particular the "*enormes talhas da China, dignas de um palacio real, ali condemnadas á obscuridade*" (huge urns from China, worthy of a royal palace, but condemned there to obscurity).[6] He does not mention the bed that concerns us here, but it was probably there, with the "*moveis, amontoados,* [que] *não permittiam ajuizar o que fôra, nos seus dias de esplendôr, a moradia de verão dos Cadavaes*" (heaped furniture

[that] made it impossible to judge what the Cadavals' summer home was like at the height of its splendour).[7] Only the library remained intact, "*com as suas estantes e cadeiras de mogno em estylo Imperio*" (with its bookshelves and Empire-style mahogany chairs), comprising the family archive, rich in documents relating to Brazil, including letters from Father António Vieira.

In 1955, Virgínia Rau published a descriptive study of this collection of documents, which essentially related to the 1st Duke of Cadaval, Nuno Alvares Pereira de Melo (1638-1727), and his activities as a statesman and landowner. In its foreword, she noted the interest shown by the marquise, who, "*por suas próprias mãos, limpou e arrumou todos os códices nas estantes de Muge, ao serem para aí transferidos da residência ancestral de Pedrouços*" (with her own hands, cleaned and tidied every codex on the bookshelves at Muge when they were moved there from the ancestral residence of Pedrouços).[8] Her patrimonial awareness is evident in her readiness to allow researchers access to the House of Cadaval archive and art collections, an attitude which was not replicated with regard to this research, frustrating the chance to study the documentary records on the bed's early history.[9] Nevertheless, and by researching the records of the Court of Boa Hora kept at the Torre do Tombo National Archives, Celina Bastos was able to identify the object in the inventory of the property left by the 6th duke, Nuno Caetano (1799-1837), who died in exile in Paris.[10] In the inventory of silver in this extensive document, there is a reference to "*Huma Guarnição de cama constando a mesma de cypestres e ramos de flores*" (the silver decorated bed with cypresses and bouquets), valued at 207,200 *réis*, with a note in the margin that it was "*vinculada*", i.e. part of the undivided and inalienable entailed assets that at the time could not be sold on the owner's death and must be passed on to the eldest son under the same conditions they were received in.[11] Its attachment to the movable property of this ducal house is therefore substantiated.

While Virgínia Rau describes the arrival of the Cadaval library and archive at Muge, we know that other objects identified by Malheiro Dias in Pedrouços were sent to Sintra, such as the portraits of the 5th duke and duchess, painted in the early 19th century by Domenico Pellegrini and hung in Quinta da Piedade.[12] The bed probably followed a similar course, like other objects in the family estate that would have remained under the marquise's care given that the other family members lived abroad.



[fig. 3]

Duchess of Cadaval's toilet service

Sébastien Igonet, Antoine LeBrun, Alexis Loir III, Etienne Pollet.
1738-1739. Silver, mirror, silk velvet, hair.

Detroit Institute of Arts
Founders Society Purchase, Elizabeth Parke Firestone Collection of Early French Silver Fund
53.177-.192
Museum Purchase, Jill Ford Murray Fund, 2012.73.

Courtesy of the Museum

With the end of the practice of entailment (in 1863), the aforementioned sharing of the estate due to the probable need for financial liquidity would have explained the sale of this piece of furniture, which, given its extravagance, would have had little practical use.

The photo published by Reynaldo dos Santos in 1953, just before it was sold, shows it dismantled and leaning against a wall, giving the impression that it was not in use.

For the same reasons, other important pieces from the House of Cadaval's artistic heritage passed into different hands in the 20th century. Of particular note is the silver toilet service by the French goldsmith Etienne Pollet commissioned in 1738-39 for the 3rd duchess, Henriqueta de Lorena, and also "*vinculado*" in the aforementioned inventory[13] [fig. 3]. Sold in 1931 by the 9th duke to the merchant

Jacques Helft, it can be found today in the Detroit Institute of Arts,[14] which is why it was not included in the objects loaned by the family to the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga for the exhibition of French art in 1934.[15] Among others, this featured a pair of silver tureens by Robert-Joseph Auguste, also sold later,[16] and four canvases by Pierre Antoine Quillard of *fêtes galantes* and genre scenes, still owned by the current descendants.[17] These include the equestrian portrait of the 3rd duke, kept in Évora, variously attributed to Duprà or Quillard.[18]

Also of note here is the pair of green velvet saddle blankets with silver appliques featuring the ducal coat of arms, probably used in 1738 for the bullfights held to mark the 20th birthday of the Princess of Brazil, Mariana Victória.[19] These can be seen today in the Museu de Artes Decorativas Portuguesas of the Fundação Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva [fig. 4].[20] The "Cadaval bed" fits into this dynamic of the dispersal of the movable heritage of one of the main Portuguese noble families of the Ancien Régime. Its appearance in other private collections and on the art market, interrupted in a timely manner by its acquisition for the National Palace of Sintra in December 2017, will be examined next.

The Athayde collection and the "Cadaval bed"

Of mid-20th-century Portuguese collectors, the name Augusto de Athayde (1912-1965) is not one that immediately springs to mind, since his turbulent personal and professional life made his collection short lived. Born into a traditional Azorean family on the Island of São Miguel, from an early age he was actively entrepreneurial, with business interests ranging from land clearance to banking, milling and coastal shipping, etc., turning him into one of the richest men on the archipelago.[21]

In an attempt to establish himself in Lisbon, and in the hope of finding somewhere suitable for his collections of art and antiques,[22] in 1943 he rented a significant part of the Quintela-Farrobo Palace in Rua do Alecrim after inspecting other palaces in the city. Thanks to his talent for decoration, and with its monumental stairway and spacious rooms with murals, the residence became one of the most opulent of the era and a constant source of local curiosity, as the collector's wife noted in her memoirs.[23]



[fig. 4]
Saddle cloth (from a pair) with the coat of arms of the House of Cadaval
Velvet with silver adornments. Portugal, ca. 1730.

Museu de Artes Decorativas Portuguesas
Fundação Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva
Inv. 30

© FRESS | Courtesy of MADP

Maria da Graça de Athayde (1906-2001) recalls that the bed was added to the collection around 1954. It was sold to her husband by the antiques dealer Elena Hortega, who had either acquired it directly from the Cadaval family or acted as intermediary. Known in the antiques fraternity as "Madame Hortega", this enterprising woman (who started out as a milliner) from the Basque country, settled in Lisbon during the Spanish Civil War and became a leading figure in the national art market. [24]

Excited about the purchase of what he called a "*cama de museu*" (museum bed), Augusto de Athayde intended to give it to his wife. However, after seeing it in a

restoration workshop, she did not react as hoped: "*Odiei-a! Era um monumento! Tão larga quanto comprida (quase 3 metros) no género das camas de bilros do século XVII, mas sobrecarregada de ornatos, carrancas, e, nos cantos pinhas, tudo de prata, que o tempo 'patinara'! Era realmente um objeto raro e digno de museu, mas...*" (I hated it! It was a monument! As wide as it was long (almost three metres), like a 17th-century turned spindle bed, but covered in adornments, grotesques and, at the corners, pine cones, all in silver, that time had 'patinated'! It really was a rare object worthy of a museum, but ...)[25]. Given her husband's insistence, and on seeing the bed set up in her bedroom, she overcame her initial reticence and slept in it. This rejection was shared by others close to the family, to whom the bed looked like "*um daqueles antigos carros de enterro, puxados por cavalos, com plumas nos cantos*" (one of those old horse-drawn funeral carriages with plumes in the corners) and even by connoisseurs like João Filipe da Silva Nascimento, owner of the Leiria & Nascimento auction house, who said: "*Venda essa cama Sr. Athayde! Tem muita prata, mas eu não gosto dela!*" (Sell the bed, Mr. Athayde! It's covered in silver, but I don't like it!)[26]. This can't help but seem odd coming from someone who years earlier (1950) had published a reference study on Portuguese beds, showing himself conversant with the specifics of this type of piece with embossed silver, only known of until then in documentary sources.[27]

Proud of his acquisition, Augusto de Athayde showed it to his guests, taking them on a pilgrimage to his wife's bedroom. Hearing the negative comments, and according to his wife, he said: "*Não sei que aversão geral é esta! A cama é 'única'! Pertencia aos Duques de Cadaval, e até fiquei surpreendido de a comprar desarmada e encaixotada. Não estava a uso, talvez por ser espetacular demais para qualquer casa!*" (I don't understand this general aversion! The bed is 'unique'! It belonged to the Dukes of Cadaval, and I was surprised to find it dismantled and boxed. It wasn't being used, perhaps because it was too spectacular for any house!).[28]

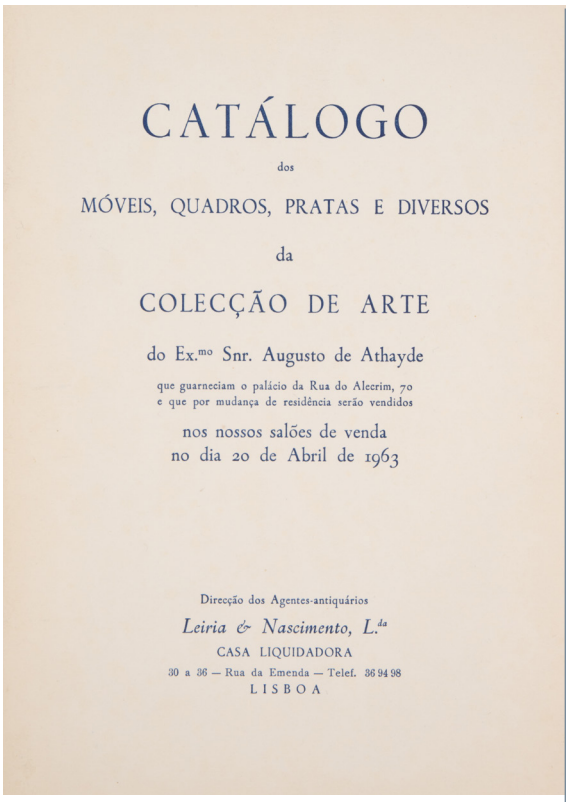
The fortune that allowed him to make acquisitions like this started to wane at the end of the 1950s, largely due to the bohemian lifestyle he led and the neglecting of his businesses.[29] Indebted, he was forced to sell some of his artworks directly and to auction off the rest of the contents from the palace in Rua do Alecrim, which had been seized by his creditors. Ironically, this building had witnessed the ruin of several other former occupants. In 1963, the Athayde family moved out of the palace and

Leiria & Nascimento organised the auction. Shown in the catalogue with the same image published ten years earlier by Reynaldo dos Santos [fig. 5], the bed appeared in the furniture section as item no. 18, described as an "[peça] *de extraordinária riqueza e sumptuosidade, digna de figurar em qualquer museu*" (extraordinarily rich and sumptuous piece worthy of display in any museum)[30]. It rivalled other items for attention, such as a silver table-service set by Odiot, acquired by the collector from the Count of Paris,[31] seven panels with dance scenes painted in 1891 by Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro for the Valenças Palace in Lisbon[32] and an imposing musical clock (with music by Handel) built in the 18th century by the Englishman Charles Clay.[33]

Notable among the auction buyers was the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, occupant of the Pombal Palace in Oeiras, chosen to exhibit the striking collection assembled by the Armenian multi-millionaire while building work was underway on the foundation's headquarters and museum in Avenida de Berna in Lisbon. With a thought to the palace's future conversion into a museum, he acquired two large Brussels tapestries and various pieces of furniture, among which two Portuguese rosewood beds from the 17th and 18th centuries[34]. The "Cadaval bed" was not included and, in fact, did not find a buyer, perhaps – and ultimately – because it began to arouse doubts among Lisbon's antiques fraternity given its background.

Returning to Maria da Graça de Athayde's memoirs, Augusto was told a "*segredo*" (secret) by João Nascimento prior to the auction that quickly became public, and which formed the basis of his alleged distaste for it: "*Aquela era a cama mortuária da família ducal! Só se armava para deitar e expor os mortos durante os velórios!*" (That was the ducal family's death bed! It was only set up to lay out and exhibit the dead during wakes!). The inclusion of silver cypresses aided this narrative, nurtured by the grotesques in relief, regarded as "*imagens de desespero, máscaras de tragédia, carpideiras chorando sobre o cadáver do Duque ou de parentes próximos*" (images of despair, masks of tragedy, mourners crying on the corpse of the Duke or close family members).[35]

It is unknown whether this theory was spread by the last generation of the Cadaval family who owned the bed (and if it contributed to its sale) or if it arose afterwards, due, apparently, to João Filipe da Silva Nascimento, author of *Leitos e camilhas portugueses* (1950). The detailed account of the funeral ceremonies for the 1st duke,



CATÁLOGO

dos

MÓVEIS, QUADROS, PRATAS E DIVERSOS

da

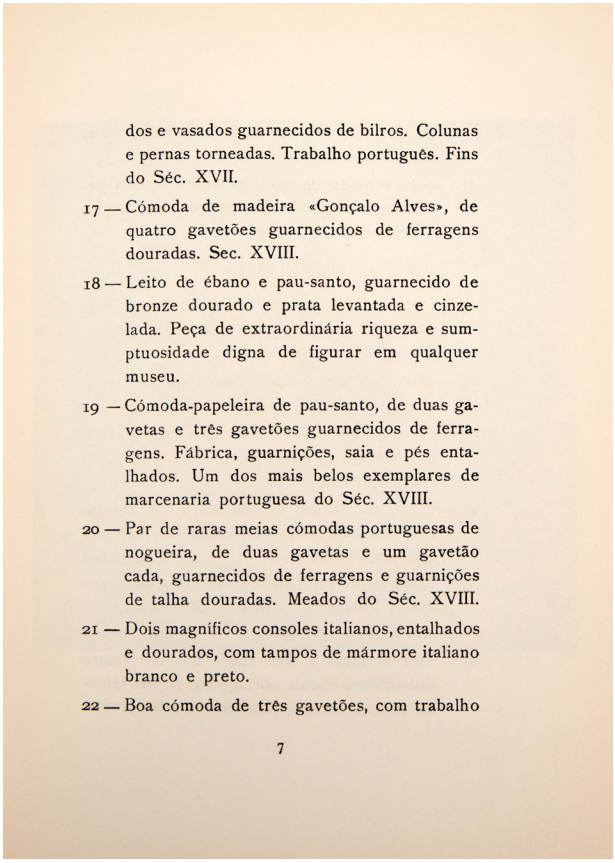
COLECÇÃO DE ARTE

do Ex.mo Snr. Augusto de Athayde

que guarneciam o palácio da Rua do Alecrim, 70
e que por mudança de residência serão vendidos

nos nossos salões de venda
no dia 20 de Abril de 1963

Direcção dos Agentes-antiquários
Leiria & Nascimento, L.da
CASA LIQUIDADORA
30 a 36 — Rua da Emenda — Telef. 36 94 98
LISBOA



dos e vasados guarnecidos de bilros. Colunas e pernas torneadas. Trabalho português. Fins do Séc. XVII.

17 — Cómoda de madeira «Gonçalo Alves», de quatro gavetões guarnecidos de ferragens douradas. Sec. XVIII.

18 — Leito de ébano e pau-santo, guarnecido de bronze dourado e prata levantada e cinzelada. Peça de extraordinária riqueza e sumptuosidade digna de figurar em qualquer museu.

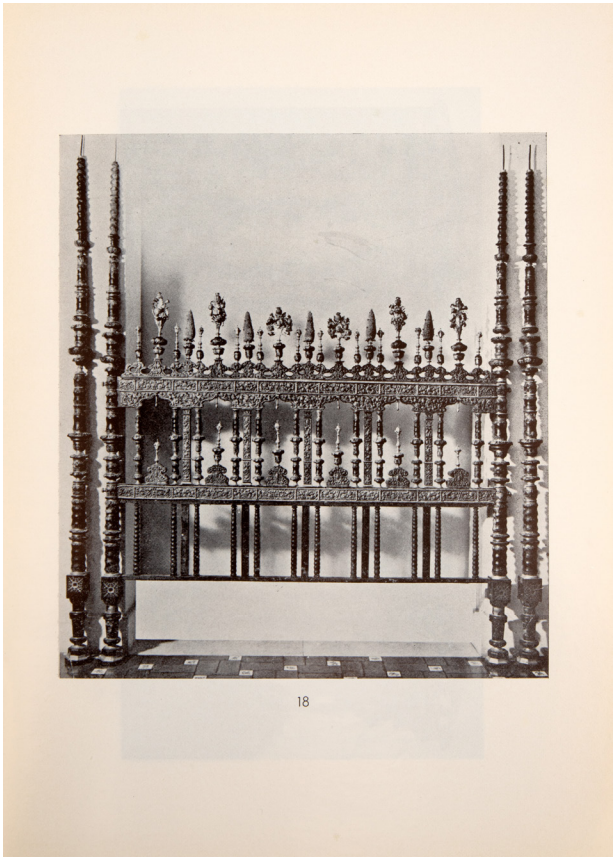
19 — Cómoda-papeleira de pau-santo, de duas gavetas e três gavetões guarnecidos de ferragens. Fábrica, guarnições, saia e pés entalhados. Um dos mais belos exemplares de marcenaria portuguesa do Séc. XVIII.

20 — Par de raras meias cómodas portuguesas de nogueira, de duas gavetas e um gavetão cada, guarnecidos de ferragens e guarnições de talha douradas. Meados do Séc. XVIII.

21 — Dois magníficos consoles italianos, entalhados e dourados, com tampos de mármore italiano branco e preto.

22 — Boa cómoda de três gavetões, com trabalho

7



18

[fig. 5]

Title page of the catalogue for the auction of the Athayde collection (1963); page describing item no. 18 and page with a photograph by Mário Novais.

Private collection

Nuno Álvares Pereira de Melo, who died at Quinta de Pedrouços in 1727, makes no mention of the use of any object of this sort, referring instead to "*huma eça decorozamente concertada*" (a decorously composed bier) in the middle of a big room decorated with black canvases. After embalming by two army surgeons, "*uzo que se pratica com pessoas daquela grandeza*" (a common habit among people of this status), his body was put "*em hum caixaõ de madeira, em que havia outro de chumbo*" (in a wooden coffin, inside which was another made of lead), dressed in a Franciscan tunic and a cloak from the Military Order of Christ, of which he was commander. He ordered his son and the 2nd duke, Jaime, that "*fosse o corpo levado para a eça, e pegàraõ no caixaõ os Religiosos Arrabidos do Convento de São Pedro de Alcantara, e cantàraõ as Matinas dos Defuntos, demonstraçaõ, que naõ fazem com pessoa alguma*" (his body be taken to the bier and the monks of the Monastery of São Pedro de Alcantara carry the coffin while chanting the Office of the Dead, which they do for nobody else).[36]

In the funeral rites for a person deemed the highest nobleman of the realm in the early 18th century, no mention is made of the use of a bed, although it is unknown if this applies to his descendants. The theory that an object of this sort could have been designed specifically for funeral purposes, as Silva Nascimento would have us believe at the time of the 1963 auction, seems unlikely. In truth, and as Celina Bastos mentions in her chapter herein, this is a ceremonial bed, or even a state bed, with a significance very much its own in the material culture of the time. Its use was associated with bridal, birthing and funeral practices and even for the purposes of representation.

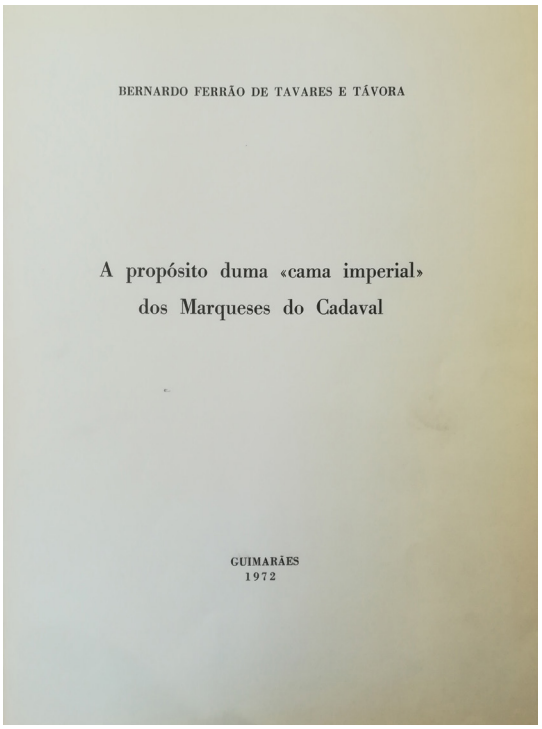
Travelling North

The basic information we have about the prior history of the "Cadaval bed" we owe to Bernardo Ferrão de Tavares e Távora (1913-1982), a renowned scholar of Portuguese furniture,[37] in an article from 1972 [fig. 6]. He mentions that on a Sunday afternoon in 1963, he travelled to Póvoa de Varzim to buy antiques in the company of a well-known Porto antiques dealer, whose name he does not reveal but who we know to be his friend António Lencastre (1917-1976).[38] It was there, in the "*desarrumado armazém do então mais notável, quanto mais extravagante, fornecedor dos mercados do Norte (e até do Sul)*" (disorganised warehouse of the then most notable, and most extravagant,

supplier of the markets in the north – and even south – of Portugal), also unidentified but corresponding to Joaquim Carneiro (better known as "*Carneiro da Póvoa*"), that they unexpectedly came across the bed.[39] This man of humble origins, of whom many anecdotes are still recalled to this day,[40] began life selling everyday china at markets, eventually becoming a key figure in the antiques market in the north of Portugal.[41] With a wide network of contacts and visited frequently by affluent clients, various exceptional pieces passed through his hands, of which this bed is an example. According to Bernardo Ferrão, it had been obtained "*por via de trocas, a uma das mais antigas e conhecidas agências de leilões lisboeta, que o retirara de praça recente, por nesta não ultrapassar poucas dezenas de contos*" (via an exchange with one of the oldest and best-known Lisbon auctioneers, which had removed it from a recent sale as no bid higher than a few hundred thousand escudos had been received)[42]. Given the disinterest among Lisbon's buyers, Leiria & Nascimento struck a deal with Joaquim Carneiro, who, unmoved or unaware of any theory as to the bed's supposed funeral purpose, shipped it to Póvoa de Varzim.

Bernardo Ferrão recalls being "*siderado*" (stunned) by the object he was shown: "*por fértil que fosse de imaginação, nunca supusera que, em dias da minha vida, pudesse deparar-se-me à venda qualquer das 'camas imperiais' (como era aquela) de que tinha conhecimento puramente bibliográfico*" (No matter how fertile my imagination, I never imagined one day I'd come across one of the 'imperial beds' – as that was – for sale that I had only ever seen in books).[43] He immediately recommended that his friend buy it, which he did, "*um tanto perplexo pelo montante, então elevado, do seu preço*" (a little perplexed at its high price for the time), taking it to Porto.[44] He also quickly identified it as the bed that had belonged to the Marquise Olga de Cadaval and whose photos had been reproduced in 1953 by Reynaldo dos Santos.

Shown by Lencastre in the antiques section of the *Exposição de arte ornamental de Braga* in 1965,[45] it was displayed at his establishment at 1059 Avenida da Boavista, where it was photographed by the American art historian Robert Smith who provided Bernardo Ferrão with the images to illustrate his article [fig. 7]. There it remained for six years, "*vista por dezenas de peritos e centenas de curiosos e colecionadores, oferecida a museus, palácios nacionais, fundações e a compradores endinheirados*" (seen by dozens of experts and hundreds of curious and collectors,



BERNARDO FERRÃO DE TAVARES E TÁVORA

A propósito duma «cama imperial»
dos Marqueses do Cadaval

GUIMARÃES
1972

[fig. 6]

Front cover of the article published by Bernardo Ferrão in 1972. Offprint from the magazine *Gil Vicente*.

Private collection



Fig. 1 — «Cama imperial» dos Marqueses do Cadaval; aspecto de conjunto. Móvel de ébano com aplicações de bronze, marchetado de chapa de prata repuxada e lavrada e decorado com ramalhetes deste metal. Trabalho híbrido, possivelmente executado por artífices indianos na metrópole ou portugueses na Índia. Segunda metade do séc. XVII ou primeiro quartel do XVIII.

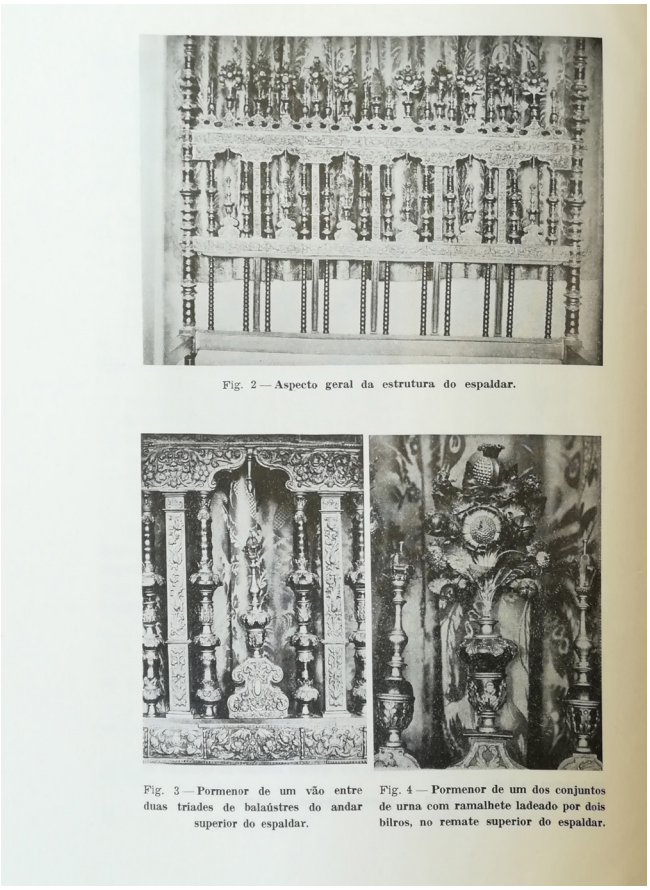


Fig. 2 — Aspecto geral da estrutura do espaldar.

Fig. 3 — Pormenor de um vão entre duas triades de balaústres do andar superior do espaldar.

Fig. 4 — Pormenor de um dos conjuntos de urna com ramalhete ladeado por dois bilros, no remate superior do espaldar.

[fig. 7]

Pages from the article by Bernardo Ferrão (1972) illustrated with photographs taken by Robert Smith in the showroom of António Lencastre's establishment in Avenida da Boavista, Porto, ca. 1964-1968.

offered to museums, national palaces, foundations and wealthy buyers). Nobody was interested, "*mau grado ter preço inicial perfeitamente compatível com a sua raridade e riqueza e nem mereceu a graça do arrolamento pelas entidades responsáveis pela defesa do nosso património artístico*" (despite having an initial price that was perfectly suited to its rarity and opulence and never was it inventoried by the bodies responsible for protecting our artistic heritage).[46]

Fearing that the bed would be given state classification, which would hinder any chance of export if a foreign buyer should emerge, Lencastre mentioned in 1969 that it was to be imminently shipped to London, alleging that a well-known auctioneer in the city was interested in selling it for an attractive price. For this reason, it did not appear in the *Exposição de ambientes portugueses dos séculos XVI a XIX*, organised that year at Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis, to the great dismay of the chairman of the executive committee, Bernardo Ferrão, who had planned on its inclusion.[47]

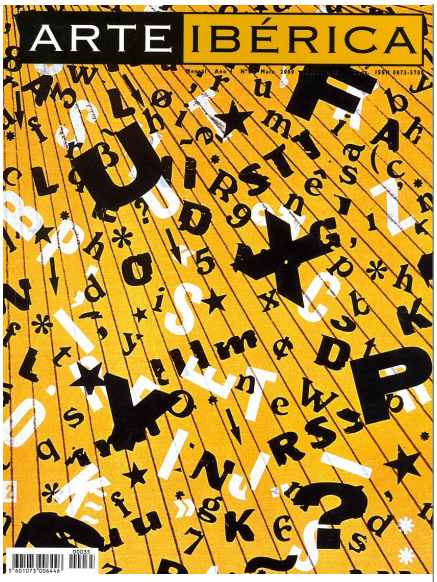
The bed's supposed departure for London, regretted and accepted in 1970 by another scholar of Portuguese furniture, Arthur de Sandão,[48] never actually occurred. It was nothing more than a "*manobra de diversão*" (diversionary tactic) to prevent the state from inventorying it. From what we can ascertain, it was then stored in Rua de D. Hugo, near Porto cathedral, in the establishment of another influential northern antiques dealer, Jerónimo Portocarrero Baganha.[49] Ferrão would have known about this strategy given his closeness to the owner and experience of the workings of the antiques market. After dwelling on its description, stylistic analysis and classification in his article,[50] he manifests his "*veemente desejo de ver reintegrado no património nacional este tão raro como precioso móvel*" (vehement desire to see this rare and precious object reincorporated into the national collections), suggesting, as a proud native of Guimarães, that it be added to those of the Palace of the Dukes of Braganza in that city. If not possible, he believed that the Círculo Dr. José de Figueiredo,[51] based in Porto, "*poderia interessar um grupo de capitalistas e banqueiros dessa cidade no mecenato da sua oferta ao Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis, onde não sobra mobiliário seiscentista português de tal categoria*" (could interest a group of capitalists and bankers from this city in sponsoring its acquisition for the Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis, which is not over abundant with seventeenth-century Portuguese furniture of this calibre).[52] These ambitions did not come to fruition and the bed's future remained

on hold for a few more years. In truth, António Lencastre's daughter, Isabel, who was also an antiques dealer, only sold it at the end of the 1970s, on the suggestion of the decorator Ju Távora, to the banker Álvaro Costa Leite, who installed it, after restoration, in his family residence in Vale de Cambra.[53] There it remained until 1999, when the antique dealers Pedro Aguiar Branco and José Jordão Felgueiras acquired it jointly and a new chapter in its sinuous history began.

Returning South

In 2000, at the Antiques Biennial held at the Feira Internacional de Lisboa (FIL) by the Portuguese Antique Dealers Association (APA), the "Cadaval bed" made a reappearance on the V.O.C. Antiguidades de Pedro Aguiar Branco stall. Standing out in the dark ambience of the space, "*vestido*" (dressed) with an Indo-Portuguese bedspread and with a Brussels tapestry as its backdrop, it caught the attention of everyone who had the chance to see it on that occasion, including the author of these lines.

In an article published in the magazine *Arte Ibérica* [fig. 8], Anísio Franco dwelled on what he considered the "*peça mais magnificente de toda a feira*" (most magnificent item in the whole fair), returning to some facts about its history and relevance in the context of Portuguese furniture collated in part in the earlier study by Bernardo Ferrão. Like the latter, he suggested "*unir esforços para a imediata aquisição desta inigualável obra de arte, que não deverá voltar a passar fronteiras do nosso país*" (efforts be made immediately to acquire this incomparable artwork which must never again leave this country), in an allusion to its alleged sale abroad, a fact still held to be true.[54] Once again nothing came of it, and only in 2003, on Pedro Aguiar Branco's initiative, was it proposed that the then Instituto Português de Museus acquire it.[55] Following the opinion of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga attesting to the bed's patrimonial importance and recommending its inclusion in a national palace, the process was taken under the wing of the Portuguese Institute for Instituto Português do Património Arquitetónico e Arqueológico, responsible at the time for overseeing the palaces.[56]





[fig. 8]

View of the V.O.C. Antiguidades stand at the Lisbon Art and Antiques Fair in 2000.

Photograph published in the March edition, issue no. 35, of the magazine *Arte Ibérica*.

Private collection

This body felt that the Palácio Nacional de Sintra would be an appropriate home for the bed, not just because its rooms were large enough to house its imposing dimensions but also due to the fact that its collection essentially covered the 16th to the 18th centuries. Despite the commitment of the palace's director, Inês Ferro, who proposed that a patron be sought,[57] it was not then possible to find the financial means to acquire it, a fact of which the antiques dealer was notified in 2004.[58]

Twelve years later, and now under the management of Parques de Sintra - Monte da Lua, S. A., the negotiating process resumed that finally led to the acquisition of the bed, stored and dismantled for this whole period while awaiting the home that it had long laid claim to and seemed obvious to everyone. During the acquisition

process, important information came to light from Bruno Martinho, currently a curator at the Palácio Nacional de Sintra, that had been ignored by everyone interested in the piece (and Portuguese furniture in general): the existence in Spain since 1753 of a very similar bed at the Basílica de Santa Maria de Elche which had come from another major family of Portuguese aristocrats – the dukes of Aveiro. Its identification, besides enriching the *corpus* of Portuguese furniture from this era, bolstered the exceptional nature of this type of object and enabled comparative studies.

Recently subject to a detailed process of conservation and restoration, the "Cadaval bed" has also undergone historical research. This is condensed in the publishing initiative now made generally available following the bed's public presentation at the Palácio Nacional de Sintra. We believe that there is no better way to mark its incorporation into Portugal's national collections and its return to Sintra, from where it departed 65 years ago on a journey we have attempted to trace here.

····· § ·····

NOTES

1 The archive of the Casa Reynaldo dos Santos e Irene Quilhó (Cascais) contains some original proof of this campaign, as well as associated documentation substantiating it took place in January 1953. My thanks to Assunção Júdice, head of the Casa Reynaldo dos Santos e Irene Quilhó dos Santos, for access to these documents and photographs.

2 Santos, 1953: 381, 383.

3 Santos and Quilhó, 1959 and 1960, respectively.

4 Stoop, 1999: 272-273.

5 Silva and Seixas, 2009: 95-99.

6 Dias, [undated]: 18.

7 Dias, [undated]: 18.

8 Rau and Silva, 1955: VIII.

9 Repeated contacts from October 2018 onwards with the Countess Teresa Schönborn, owner of the archive-library of the House of Cadaval, and its librarian, Professor Diogo Ramada Curto, came to nothing.

10 Our thanks to Celina Bastos for locating this hitherto unseen document. The same researcher was also responsible for identifying the description of the bed kindly shared with us.

11 Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Tribunal da Boa Hora, 6ª vara - 3ª secção, case 54, box 1, no. 1, *Inventário dos bens q. ficarão por fallecimento do Ex.mo Duque do Cadaval D. Nuno Caetano Alveres Pereira de Melo. Inventariante a Duquesa Viúva. Órfãos Belem. 1851/1854*, fl. 519v and 520, note 3127.

12 See the photograph published by Stoop, 1999: 273.

13 ANTT, Fundo Cível Antigo de Lisboa, 6ª vara - 3ª secção, proc. 54, cx. 1, n.º 1, fol. 516 v., verba 3113.

14 Detroit Institute of Arts, accession number: V2014.6

15 *Catálogo da exposição de obras de arte francesas existentes em Portugal*, 1934. The 1934 volume, which focused on 19th-century gold, has an introduction by José de Figueiredo. A second volume was only published in 1939, addressing the collections of paintings, miniatures, illuminated manuscripts, ivory sculptures, sacred gold, toreutics, enamel, tapestries and furniture, etc.

16 One came up for auction at Silva's in 1997 as part of a collection belonging to Dr. Juvenal Esteves, having been given to him by the Marquise of Cadaval. See *Rara e importante coleção particular Prof. Doutor Juvenal Esteves*, item 163. The second was auctioned in 2014 at Bonham's in London with the indication that it had been earlier sold (at Christie's in 1972) by a grandson of the 8th duke, Count Brandolini. See *Fine silver, gold and boxes, 18 June 2014*, item 152. Our thanks to Henrique Correia Braga for these bibliographical references.

17 *Joanni V Magnifico: a pintura em Portugal ao tempo de D. João V 1706-1750*, 1994: 278-284.

18 Pimentel, 2008: 144-145.

19 Unknown author [catalogue entry, *Triunfo do Barroco*], 1993: 182-184.

20 Museu de Artes Decorativas Portuguesas – Fundação Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva, inv. 30 and 93.

21 Ataíde, 2006: 38, 300.

22 According to his son's memoirs, in the 1940s Augusto de Athayde "seemed especially interested in antiques. He subscribed to magazines, read countless books, visited antique dealers and eventually became an 'aficionado' of 17th and 18th-century Portuguese furniture". Ataíde, 2006: 133.

23 "The worst thing is that our beautiful home became a kind of 'curiosity', visited by lots of people who were shown around by this and that person (I won't mention their names)". Athayde, 1986: 199.

24 Mântua, 2014: 73-74.

25 Athayde, 1986: 236.

26 Athayde, 1986: 237.

27 "*Na falta de exemplares de excepcional valor sumptuário temos de nos contentar com as notícias que confirmam a sua existência* ..." (Without any examples of exceptional sumptuousness, we have to settle for accounts confirming their existence ...). In this context, he divulged a manuscript owned by the Viscount of Lagoa which recounts the baptism of Prince João, the future King João V, in 1689. In it is described a bed or couch with "*quatro balaustres de pao de evano retrosidos todos cubertos de folhagens de prata*" (four turned ebony posts covered in silver foliage). Nascimento, 1950: 44-45.

28 Athayde, 1986: 237.

29 Ataíde, 2006: 300.

30 *Catálogo dos móveis, quadros, pratas e diversos da coleção de arte do Exmo. Sr. Augusto de Athayde que guarneciam o palácio da Rua do Alecrim, 70 e que por mudança de residência serão vendidos nos nossos salões de venda no dia 20 de abril de 1963*: 7.

31 Maranhas, 2019: 193.

32 Six of these panels were re-auctioned in Portugal in 2014 by Veritas. See *Antiguidades e obras de arte, pratas e joias*, 2014: 180-181 (item 278).

33 This important clock previously belonged to the Braamcamp, *Infanta* Isabel Maria and Carvalho Monteiro collections and returned to the auction market at Sotheby's in 2016. See *Robert de Balkany, Rue de Varenne, Paris*, 2016, item 120. It was sold for €867,000.

34 The Pombal Palace was never actually converted into a museum and the objects acquired remained for decades in the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian's reserves. In 2008, under an agreement signed with the then Instituto dos Museus e da Conservação, they were loaned to the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga and Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis. Our thanks to Nuno Vassalo e Silva, assistant director of the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, for this information.

35 I add here the witty comment by the collector's wife: "*Até gosto de pensar que lá dormi nove anos. Fui a única pessoa que teve a sorte (se o foi?) de acordar naquela cama!*" (I quite enjoy thinking that I slept in it for nine years. I was the only person lucky enough – or not? – to have woken up in that bed!). Athayde, 1986: 237.

36 Cadaval, 1730: 48-49.

37 Author of a seminal work on Portuguese furniture published posthumously in four volumes (Lello & Irmão editores, 1990). He also wrote important books on Portuguese ceramics, Flemish sculpture and Indo-Portuguese art.

38 Távora, 1972. Our thanks for this information to José Jordão Felgueiras who provided an offprint dedicated to António Lencastre, whom he calls the "*protagonista desta história*" (protagonist of this story). Távora, 1972.

39 Távora, 1972: 9.

40 We thank the antique dealers Ilídio Cruz and Joaquim Coelho for the information provided.

41 On Joaquim Carneiro, see Franco, 2015: 76-79.

42 Távora, 1972: 9.

43 Távora, 1972: 9. The title of "*Cama Imperial*" (Imperial Bed), followed by the author, appears in some 18th-century documents, namely the *Inventário e sequestro da Casa de Aveiro em 1759*. Guerra, 1952.

44 Távora, 1972: 10.

45 It is not illustrated in the exhibition catalogue, which limits itself to the works provided by the lenders. See *Exposição de arte ornamental de Braga em 1965,* 1966.

46 Távora, 1972: 10.

47 *Exposição de ambientes portugueses dos séculos XVI a XIX*, 1969.

48 "*A mesma confrangedora indiferença se verificou com a cama do século XVII que pertencera aos marqueses de Cadaval* ... [móvel] *vendido, depois de sucessivas transações entre antiquários portugueses, para Londres* ..." (The terrible indifference towards the 17th-century bed which belonged to the marquises of Cadaval ... [a piece] sold to London after repeatedly changing hands between Portuguese antiques dealers ...). Sandão, 1970: 8-9.

49 Our thanks to José Jordão Felgueiras for this information.

50 The theory mooted is that it could be a Luso-Indian piece: "*Será, pois, o leito uma das faladas peças executadas no país por artesãos indianos 'separados do seu meio social e tradição de casta' ou por artífices portugueses trabalhando em Goa ou qualquer das cidades sujeitas ao nosso domínio, até Malaca? Não estamos, ainda, preparados para oferecer uma resposta correta*" (Could the bed be one of the talked about pieces made in the country by Indian artisans 'separated from their social environment and caste tradition' or by Portuguese craftsmen working in Goa or any of the cities under our control, even Malaca? We can't yet say for sure). Távora, 1972: 21.

51 Friends of the Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis.

52 Távora, 1972: 24.

53 The restoration was by António Carvalho. Our thanks to José Jordão Felgueiras for this information.

54 Franco, 2000: 39

55 A copy of the letter dated 14th May 2003, Archive of the Palácio Nacional de Sintra.

56 Copy of the opinion issued by Conceição Borges de Sousa, furniture curator of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, dated 25th July 2003, Archive of the Palácio Nacional de Sintra.

57 Opinion of Inês Ferro dated 3rd October 2003, Archive of the Palácio Nacional de Sintra.

58 Copy of the letter by Inês Ferro dated 8th July 2004, Archive of the Palácio Nacional de Sintra.

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#03 / 2020

Manuel Lemos, Matthias Tissot, Isabel Tissot, Maria João Petisca
Conservators, Archeofactu

BETWEEN NIGHT AND DAY: THE AWAKENING OF THE CADAVAL BED

A MATERIAL, TECHNOLOGICAL AND CONSERVATION STUDY

BACK TO CONTENTS

Introduction

The "Cadaval bed" is a singular piece of furniture due to its unique material and constructional characteristics. Among other things, it stands out for its superlative size and decorative structure, which comprises a vast number of metal pieces (copper alloy, gilt and silver-plated copper alloy, silver alloy and gilt-silver alloy) mostly attached to the wooden structure.

The manner in which the bed was built – with metal pieces, some executed with various delicate elements, attached to a wooden structure – hinders its conservation. In addition to this are the unknown conditions in which it was formerly stored and displayed. When it was acquired, the Cadaval bed's condition was characterised by pronounced structural deformations in both the wood and metal elements. In addition, the surface of the metal pieces, and the silver alloys in particular, had been altered by atmospheric corrosion. The corrosion products formed were stable but had changed how the object was read and perceived.

The decision was therefore taken to intervene to correct the existing structural changes and remove the corrosion in order to restore the appearance of this singular piece of furniture. Given its historical importance as an entirely unique object in Portugal, it was also decided to conduct a material and technological study to research the materials used and the production and decoration techniques. To perform the analyses necessary for this study, support was provided by national and international institutions and companies. These

included the Laboratório de Anatomia Vegetal (LAV), Instituto Superior de Agronomia, Laboratório de Ensaios Não Destrutivos (LABEND), Instituto de Soldadura e Qualidade (ISQ), Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia e de Geologia (LNEG), Scientific Research and Analysis Laboratory (SRAL) at the Winterthur Museum (USA) and Dias de Sousa - Instrumentação Analítica e Científica, S.A.

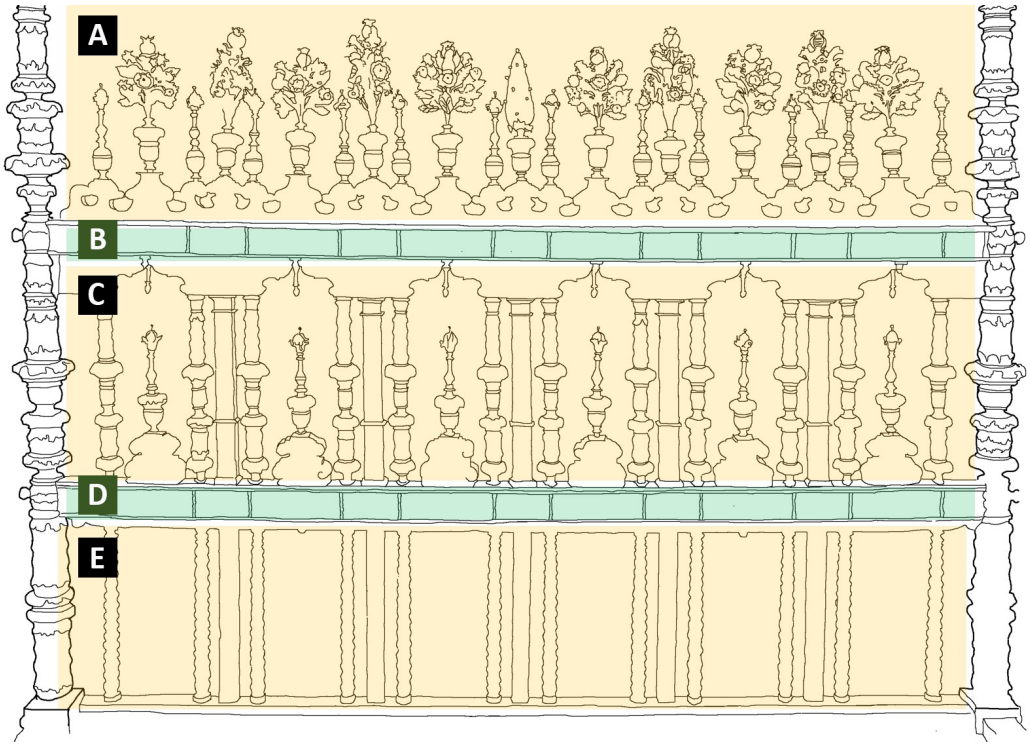
The conservation and restoration work was undertaken by Archeofactu. It extended over thirteen months and was conducted in the facilities of the National Palace of Queluz, to which the bed was transported for the work.

This chapter will provide a summary description of the project, including a characterisation of the bed's materials and manufacturing techniques, a diagnosis of its condition and the conservation and restoration work undertaken.

A short description

The Cadaval bed is 2.96 metres high, 2.1 metres wide and 2.32 metres long and has a wooden structure mostly decorated with silver-alloy and copper-alloy pieces attached by nails. It includes a headboard and four posts, the former formed by a backrest connected to two of the posts. Figure 1 is a diagram of the backrest consisting of three horizontal tiers separated by two friezes, represented by letters B and D. These consist of silver-alloy pieces decorated with plant motifs and grotesques which are in turn separated by gilt copper-alloy friezes [fig. 2].

The top tier comprises silver-alloy plate, ten bouquets of flowers and fruit, a cypress and twelve flower bouquets (in silver alloy, gilt-silver alloy and gilt-copper alloy). The detachable pieces sit on urns consisting of wooden, silver alloy and gilt-copper alloy elements. The decorative elements on the second tier, marked in figure 1 with the letter C, are similar to those on the first and comprise silver-alloy pieces and a set of six flowers framed by arches with two small columns and wooden pilasters decorated with silver-alloy and gilt-copper alloy pieces. Finally, the bottom tier, identified in figure 1 with the letter E, comprises seven sets of carved and turned wooden elements. With the exception of the far ends, which consist of a single small column, each set consists of two small columns and a pilaster.



[fig. 1]

Diagram identifying the tiers and friezes comprising the bed's backrest.

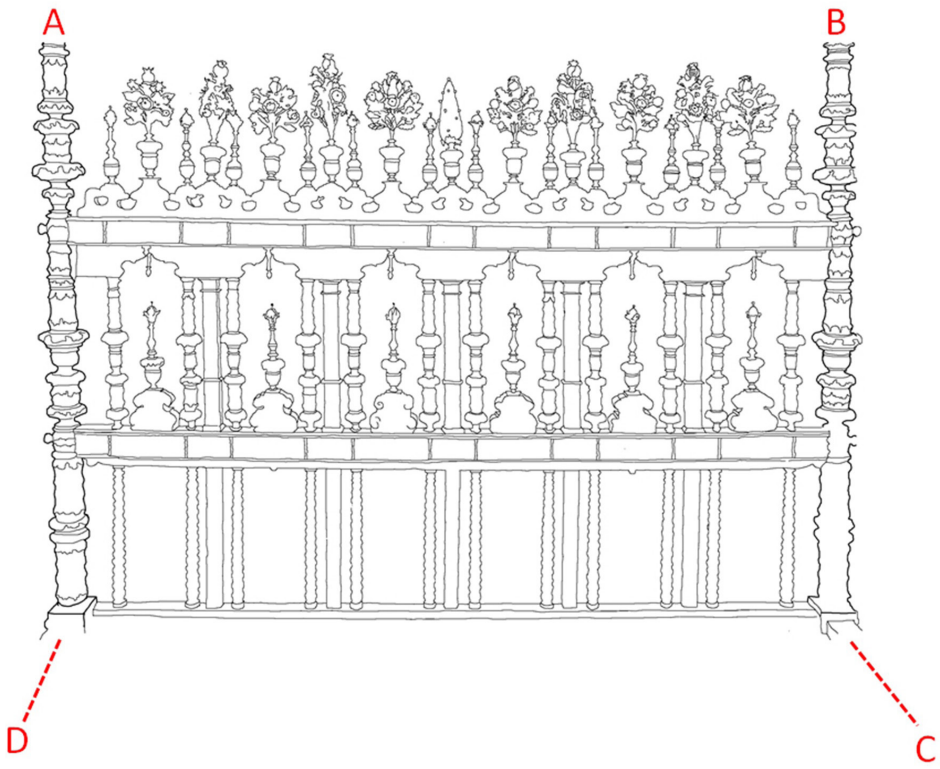
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[fig. 2]

Silver-alloy piece decorated with plant motifs and a grotesque framed by gilt copper alloy friezes.

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[fig. 3]
Diagram identifying posts A, B, C and D.

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The four structural posts [fig. 3] consist of parts in wood, iron alloy, silver alloy, and gilt and silver-plated copper alloy. Crowning each post is a cypress like those on the backrest.

This canopy bed is unique in Portugal, although a similar example of Portuguese origin is part of the treasures of the Basilica of Santa Maria of Elche.[1] This was bequeathed by Gabriel Ponce de León e Lencastre, Duke of Aveiro e de Banhos and Marquis of Elche (resident at the time in Lisbon), and was taken from Portugal to Elche in 1753. It was used for the first time during the festivities for the *Octava de la Asunción* in 1754.[2] Though the two beds are clearly similar, when seen in detail their decoration differs in several ways. For example, while the silver-alloy pieces on the headboard of the Cadaval bed are decorated with plant motifs and grotesques [fig. 2], those on the Elche bed only consists of plant motifs. There may be various reasons for these differences, amongst which the effects of restoration work or the choice of different decorative programmes from the beginning.

The history of the bed and the influence on its condition

Reynaldo dos Santos[3] is considered to have made the first ever reference to the bed. His short description indicates that it belonged to the Cadaval family, but it has nothing to say about its chronology or history. Later references to the bed[4] suggest that its whereabouts changed on various occasions over the last sixty years. Notably, from 1954 to 1963, it belonged to Augusto Athayde, having been later sold to an antiques dealer in Póvoa do Varzim (1963) and then to another in Porto (1963?). In her memoirs, Maria de Graça de Athayde, Augusto Athayde's wife, mentions having seen it at a restoration workshop but fails to mention where and in what condition the bed was in at the time.[5] From 1969 to 1999, there are few references to it, and it only appeared publically in 2000 at the 3rd Lisbon Art and Antiques Fair of the Portuguese Antiquarians Association.[6] These comings and goings would have contributed to the change in its condition, particularly its most fragile parts – the bouquets of flowers and fruit and the cypresses – that are easily detached because they are neither nailed nor pushed into place. These factors may also explain the various changes to their arrangement on the structure of the bed, a fact confirmed by the existing photographic records. For example, in the picture of the headboard published in Reynaldo dos Santos' history of art,[7] the five cypresses are located on the backrest of the headboard alongside six bouquets, including the four main ones. In Robert Smith's photograph from 1972,[8] the bouquets of flowers and fruit and the cypresses are arranged in the manner recorded prior to the start of conservation and restoration work.

Conservation and restoration project

The conservation and restoration project was intended to study the materials and techniques used to make the Cadaval bed and to undertake its conservation and restoration. The aim was to correct the structure of the wooden elements and to clean the metal parts in order to return the bed as closely as possible to what we know of its original state, showing the contrast in colour and brilliance between the dark exotic hardwoods and the silver, a characteristic effect of the state furniture of this era that was missing prior to the restoration.

It was decided to first discuss the process of disassembly here, as this stage preceded all others and was the key to understanding the number of existing parts, defining the methods for studying the materials, setting out the conservation issues involved and defining the working methods, in particular as regards identifying the roughly 1,700 parts (excluding nails) of which the bed is made. The text will also be more fluid if we describe the dismantling and identify the parts first.

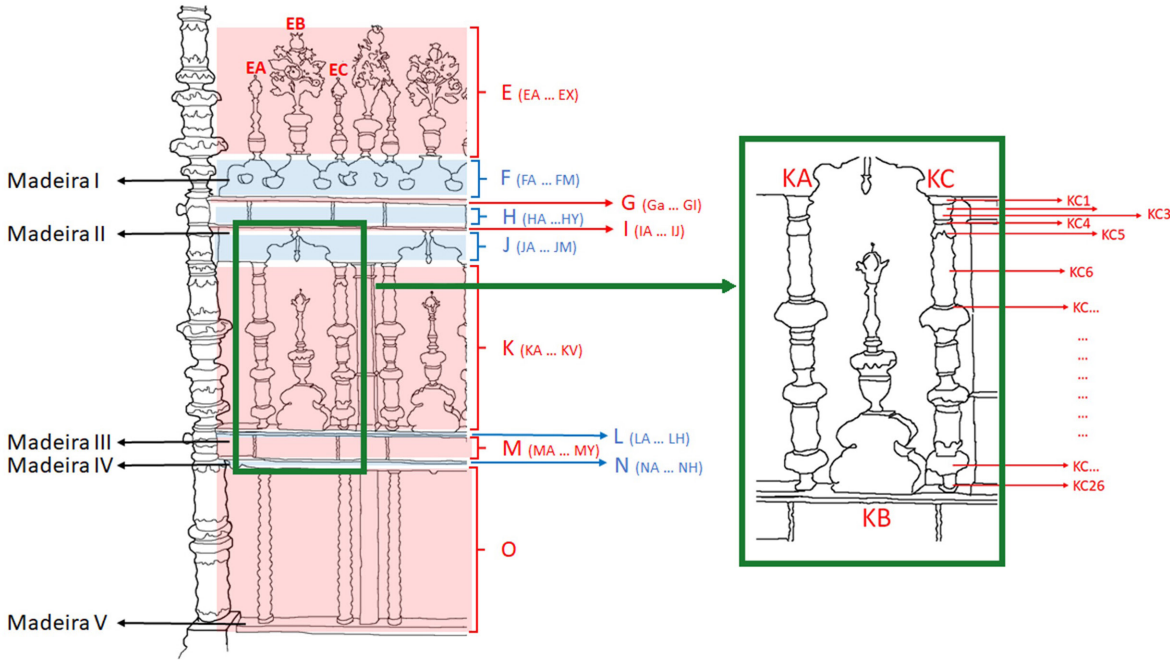
Disassembly

The dismantling of an object like the Cadaval bed allows information to be gathered on the constructional and decorative techniques and on how each object was used, which is impossible to obtain in any other way. This process also enables the various elements to be studied and their condition carefully examined. The chosen dismantling method involved identifying the components to obtain as much information as possible about them and to create a system that could reduce the risk of inaccurate identification and pinpoint their position, a necessary detail for its re-assembly.

Bearing in mind the structure of the bed, individual alphanumeric numbering was chosen. The alphabetic component identifies the pieces of the wooden structure and the numeric component their position. The number was always from left to right (the observer's view of the bed) and from top to bottom. The structural wooden parts were also identified by Roman numerals.

Fifteen alphabetic categories were created from A to O: the posts are classified from A to D and the headboard elements from E to O, as the diagrams in figures 3 and 4 illustrate.

To ensure uniformity of description, nineteen categories were defined for the different parts: washers, hoops (or rings), bases, capitals, stems, crowns, axes, spikes, styles, flowers, friezes, shafts, brackets, frames, pendants, cypresses, metal plates, bouquets and turned wood. This classification allowed similar parts to be identified and located quickly which facilitated their comparative analysis, as seen in figure 5, where similar parts from each of the four posts can be observed.



[fig. 4]
Diagram of the alphanumeric identification of the elements of the headboard.
© Archeofactu

These comparisons revealed the existence of various particularities, such as the assembly marks for the elements [fig. 35-38].

Each part was recorded by alphabetic division and category on a disassembly sheet with the following information:

a. *Identification* by alphanumeric numbering, allowing each element to be located.
b. *Size* of the element in millimetres.
c. *Type*: identification of the typology.
d. *Material*: indication of the material the part is made of (wood, silver alloy, gilt-silver alloy, copper alloy, gilt-copper alloy, silver-plated copper alloy or iron alloy).
e. *Assembly marks*: indication of any marks.



[fig. 5]
Gilt-copper alloy parts of the same type from the 4 posts (A17, B17, C17, D17).

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f. *Position*: place and direction of the assembly marks.

g. *Observations*.

h. *Holes and nails*: indication of the number of holes (no. of orifices that needed to be covered during the intervention), number of existing nails, number of broken nails within the structure (flagged with an exclamation mark "!").

Each part was identified with a label made of low-density polyethylene film written with water- and light-resistant black acetate ink placed in a low-density polyethylene bag and tied to the part with a waxed linen thread [fig. 5]. This aimed to ensure that the information was not erased during the cleaning process, which involved the use of water.

The dismantling process was aided by various tools, amongst which pliers, screwdrivers, micro-levers, spatulas, mallets and other utensils, some of which were adapted and others prepared especially for the disassembly of the bed [fig. 6].

After dismantling and labelling, the parts were stored by type and separated by material, leaving them ready for the following study and intervention stages.

Table 1 lists the total number of detachable parts classed by their constituent materials. In the case of elements that could not be totally dismantled because it might compromise their physical integrity, it was decided to leave them as they



[fig. 6]
Dismantling of a bouquet of flowers (KJ) revealing its constituent pieces (KJ1-KJ11).
© Archeofactu

Total number of constituent parts								
Materials / **Location**	Ag alloy	Cu alloy	Fe alloy	Gilt Ag alloy	Gilt Cu alloy	Silver-plated Cu alloy	Fe alloy and gilt Cu alloy	Wood
Post A	39		1		40	2	4	46
Post B	39		1		40	1	4	46
Post C	37		1		40	2	2	47
Post D	37		1		40	2	2	47
Headboard	175	1	4		204			129
Flower bases and small flowers	64			18	123			87
Cypresses	5			72				
Flat flower and fruit bouquets	84			64				
Main flower and fruit bouquets	74			52				
Nuts			12					
Structure								10
Subtotal	**554**	**1**	**20**	**206**	**487**	**7**	**12**	**412**
Total	**1.699**							

[table 1] **Total number of detachable parts classed by type and material.**

were and perform any later intervention under those conditions. It should be noted that in addition to parts in silver alloy, gilt-silver alloy, gilt and silver-plated copper alloy, iron alloy and gilt-iron alloy, other iron alloy and gilt-copper alloy composites also exist, such as the arming bolts to attach the headboard [fig. 33] and a recently produced copper alloy part [fig. 49].

Roughly 2,400 nails holding the metal parts to the wooden structure were removed. Those that could not be – 114 – had broken during an earlier disassembly or did so during this one. As figure 7 shows, the nails consist of silver alloy and iron and are of different types. This diversity may be associated with later interventions, suggesting that the bed may have been dismantled on various occasions or, at least, been subject to repairs in which loose parts were attached.

After disassembly, the parts were weighed. Table 2 lists their weight by type and material.[9] In total, the bed weighs 144 kg. Of this, roughly 112 kg relates to the wooden elements, 16 kg to the copper and gilt-copper alloy elements, 14 kg to the silver and silver-gilt alloy elements, and about 3 kg to the iron-alloy elements.

Weight (g) of the constituent parts				
Material / Type	Ag alloy	Cu alloy	Fe alloy	Wood
Nails T1 to T6	495			
Nails T7 to T10			17	
Metal plate	2.273			
Cypresses (5)	372; 374; 358 426; 362			
Flat flower bouquets (6)	357; 319; 342 354; 309; 349			
Main flower bouquets (4)	403; 478 429; 413			
Flowers	387			
Flower stamens and bases		153		
Crowns	5.204			
Rings		13.899		
Friezes		2.443		
Screws			2.779; 91	
Small wood parts				47.050
Large wooden parts				65.000
Gross subtotal	**14.004**	**16.495**	**2.887**	**112.050**
Subtotal (unidentified)	**13.664**	**16.180**	**2.874**	**111.820**
Total	**144.538**			

[table 2] **Weight in grams of the various constituent parts of the bed by type and material**



[fig. 7]
Ten types of nails: 1-6 of silver alloy, 7-10 of iron alloy.

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Material and technological study

When an object of the Cadaval bed's size consisting of components that are complex to make is subject to conservation and restoration that involves disassembly, a unique opportunity is provided to access the parts individually, allowing them to be observed and studied in detail, which is impossible any other way. For this reason, and because it is a rare and unmatched object, the aforementioned intervention was conducted jointly with a material and technological study whose purpose was to identify the materials (wood and metal) and characterise the manufacturing and decorative techniques.

Therefore, a methodology was defined that covered two aspects: a study of the wooden parts and a study of the metal parts. For the wooden parts, attempts were made to identify the types of wood used to build the bed and to describe the joining techniques and materials used to finish the surface. The study of the metal parts involved identifying the alloys and characterising the manufacturing techniques. The materials and methods used in the analysis and the main results of the study are then described.



[fig. 8]
Dying wood cuts (left). **Placing on glass plateso** (centre). **Microscopic observation** (right).
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Materials and methods used in the analytical study

The analytical strategy defined for the material and technological study of the wood and metal parts took into account various analytical techniques. With the exception of the identification of the types of wood, which entailed sampling a set of selected elements for the study, non-invasive analytical techniques were used.

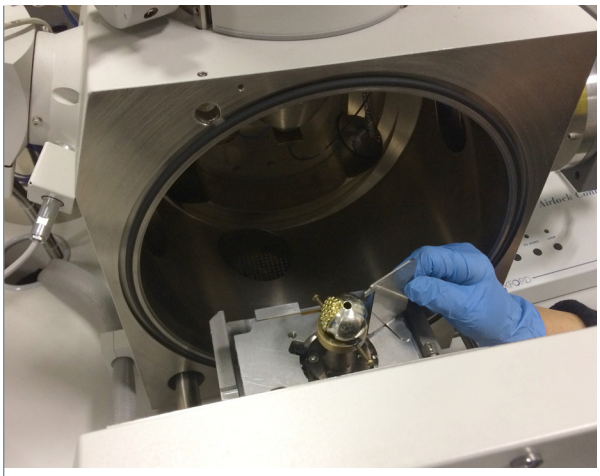
Wood samples: preparation and methodology for identifying wood types

The identification of the types of wood used to make the bed structure involved gathering twelve samples. Care was taken to collect samples from areas mostly out of sight and only those strictly necessary to meet the study's requirements. The samples were first observed with a stereomicroscope to assess the condition of the wood and the orientation of the sections available for analysis. Later, they were prepared by inclusion in polyethylene glycol (PEG) 1500 and transverse, tangential and radial section histological cuts, of between 17 and 23 mm in thickness, were made on a Leica SM 2400 stage micrometer using Tesafilm 106/4106 adhesive. The cutting process was slow, and it was not always possible to obtain well oriented sections on tangential and radial sections. This fact is due to the small size of the samples and their position on the bed. The cuts were then dyed and placed on glass plates [fig. 8].

Samples were identified according to the standards of the International Association of Wood Anatomists (IAWA) by consulting xylariums, glass plate archives, bibliographies and databases.[10] The sampling, sample preparation and identification of wood types was conducted by Teresa Quilhó, Alexandra Alves and Helena Patrício from the Laboratório de Anatomia Vegetal (LAV) at the Instituto Superior de Agronomia.



[fig. 9]
Preparing one of the cypresses for radiography at LABEND-ISQ.
© Archeofactu



[fig. 10]
Placing an element from a bouquet of flowers on the camera of the electron microscope.
© Archeofactu

Radiography

The characterisation of the construction and decorative techniques of the wooden and metal elements was complemented by radiography of a selected set of elements with an YXLON Smart 300 HP portable radiography system. Images were obtained using conventional AGFA film. The experimental conditions were adapted to suit each element, with the radiographies of the wooden pieces taken at a voltage of 70 kV – 80 kV and 0.5 mA with acquisition times of 60-240 seconds and a focal distance of 700 mm. For the metal parts, the experimental conditions were adapted to suit the different objects, with radiographies taken at a voltage of 200 kV and 3 mA with acquisition times of 45-360 seconds and a focal distance of 700 mm. The radiographies were done at LABEND-ISQ [fig. 9].

Scanning electron microscopy with energy-dispersive X-ray spectroscopy

Scanning electron microscopy with energy-dispersive X-ray spectroscopy (SEM/EDS) was done on a Philips XL 30 FEG at a voltage of 10-25 kV to characterise the decorative techniques and the corrosion of the silver, gilt-silver and gilt-copper alloy elements. The EDS with an SDD detector was attached to the microscope. The spectra were acquired for 150 seconds in area analysis mode and processed with Pathfinder software by Thermo Fisher Scientific. The analyses were performed at LNEG [fig. 10].

X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy

X-ray fluorescence (XRF) spectroscopy was conducted on a portable Bruker S1 Titan with an x-ray with a rhodium (Rh) anode and SDD detector to obtain an elementary characterisation of the alloys used to make the various metal objects attached to the wooden structure. Measurements were taken at 50 kV for 150 seconds and the equipment was provided by the company Dias de Sousa, SA.

Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy

Fourier transform infrared (FTIR) spectroscopy was used to identify the finishing materials and paint applied to the surface of the wood and the adhesives used to join the various elements. Firstly, six samples were collected (one of the paint, two of the glue (adhesive) and three of the finishing material). The samples were collected with a scalpel and were prepared by compression in a diamond microcell to reduce the thickness and increase the material's transparency. A Thermo Scientific Nicolet 6700 FT-IR with a Nicolet Continuum FT-IR microscope was used. The spectra were acquired in transmission mode with Omnic 8.0 software at between 4,000 and 650 cm^{-1} at a spectral resolution of 4 cm^{-1}. Each spectrum was the result of the accumulation of 128 scans. The spectra were analysed using an IRUG and various commercial databases and bibliographical references. The analyses were performed by the scientist Catherine Matsen from the Scientific Research and Analysis Laboratory (SRAL) at Winterthur Museum, USA.

Gas chromatography/mass spectrometry

Gas chromatography/mass spectrometry (GC/MC) was used to complement the identification of the finishing materials and paint applied to the surface of the wood and the adhesives used to join the various elements. The method of preparing the samples was adapted to suit their nature and selected after FTIR analysis. The samples were then analysed with an Agilent Technologies 7820 gas chromatograph equipped with an Agilent 5973 mass selective detector (MSD) and an automatic liquid injector. The analyses were performed by the scientist Catherine Matsen from the Scientific Research and Analysis Laboratory (SRAL) at Winterthur Museum, USA.

Construction and decorative materials and techniques

Wood

The wooden structure of the bed consists of a headboard, legs, posts and side rails. These elements are made of various species of wood of which ebony (genus *Diospyros*) has been mentioned in various publications as the main species used, probably based on the wood's dark colour. The macroscopic and microscopic testing showed that, contrary to what has been mentioned, the main species of wood is *Dalbergia melanoxylon*,[11] commonly known as *pau-preto* (genus *Dalbergia*) in Portugal and also called ebony in Senegal and Mozambique ebony in France. It is indigenous to the Mozambique region and therefore corroborates the theory put forward by Celina Bastos in this monograph and earlier studies which, based on analysis of documentary sources, states that the wood identified as ebony used in sixteenth-century furniture is actually African *pau-preto* (African blackwood). In addition to this, other botanical species were identified, such as *pau-santo* (Brazilian rosewood) under the veneer and *fava de rosca* and *angelim* for the dowels [table 3].

Location	Description	Botanical Species	Commercial Name (Portuguese)
Post A	Headboard rail joint, veneer (leg area)	Dalbergia melanoxylon Guill. Perr (LEGUMINOSAE, PAPILIONOIDEAE)	Pau-preto (Africa)
Post A	Headboard rail joint, wood under the veneer (leg area)	Dalbergia D. Nigra (Vell.) Fr. Allem (LEGUMINOSAE, PAPILIONOIDEAE)	Jacarandá da Baía; Pau-Santo (Europe)
Post A	Structure dowelling, top (leg area)	Enterolobium schomburgkii Benth. (LEGUMINOSAE, MIMOSOIDEAE)	Fava de rosca; Cambui-sucupira (Brazil)
Post A	Foot, base	Dalbergia melanoxylon Guill. Perr (LEGUMINOSAE, PAPILIONOIDEAE)	Pau-preto (Africa)
Post B	Internal dowel (B34)	Platycyamus regnellii Benth. (LEGUMINOSAE, PAPILIONOIDEAE)	Angelim; Angelim Rosa (Brazil)
Post B	Internal dowel (B72)	Platycyamus regnellii Benth. (LEGUMINOSAE, PAPILIONOIDEAE)	Angelim; Angelim Rosa (Brazil)
Post C	Internal dowel (C9)	Dialium schlechteri Harms (LEGUMINOSAE, CAESALPINIOIDEAE)	Ziba (Africa); Jataí-Peba (Brazil)
Post D	Turned element (D86)	Dalbergia melanoxylon Guill. Perr (LEGUMINOSAE, PAPILIONOIDEAE)	Pau-preto (Africa)
Side rail I-II	Perimeter I, tenon	Dalbergia D. Nigra (Vell.) Fr. Allem (LEGUMINOSAE, PAPILIONOIDEAE)	Jacarandá da Baía; Pau-Santo (Europe)
Headboard	Wood under the veneer (FH)	Dalbergia D. Nigra (Vell.) Fr. Allem (LEGUMINOSAE, PAPILIONOIDEAE)	Jacarandá da Baía; Pau-Santo (Europe)

[table 3] **Botanical species identified in the various wooden elements on the Cadaval bed.**



[fig. 11]
Different types of wooden parts: KM12, KU2, KK14, ER7, C71, D84, C69, A16, B53, A94, A6, B18, EB4, D61, A74, AQ21, B22, KG6, A59, B68, A107, A54, C89 and B13.

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[fig. 12]
A wooden part (EF6) with lathe marks, probably made more recently.

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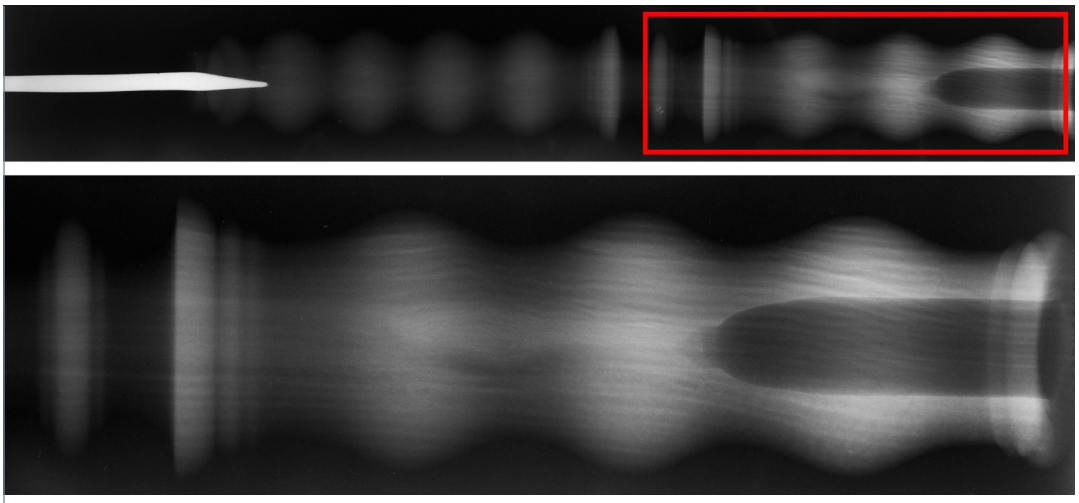


[fig. 13]
A dowelled mortise and tenon joint used to fix the headboard pilaster to the upper rail.

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As far as construction and decorative techniques are concerned, the constituent wooden elements of the bed have a dual purpose: structural and decorative. The 412 wooden parts are of different types, some of which are illustrated in [fig. 11]. The parts were made by turning and the lathe marks visible on some of them suggest they were made more recently [fig. 12].

Various joint types and fixing systems were identified on the wooden parts. The structural elements – headboard, legs, posts and side rails – use mortise and tenon joints, glue, dowelled mortise and tenon joints [fig. 13] and mortise and tenon joints reinforced with iron alloy arming bolts. The arming bolts are mostly made of iron alloy with gilt-copper heads and have quadrangular iron-alloy nuts.



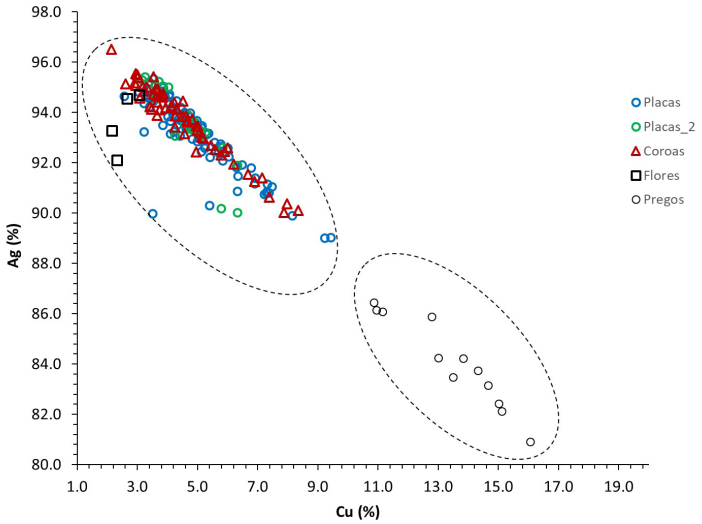
[fig. 14]
X-radiography of a turned wooden piece in post D.

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As mentioned above, the backrest consists of three horizontal tiers filled with turned pieces. These are joined to the horizontal friezes by dowels of circular and rectangular section. Radiography of a turned piece [fig. 14] provided an idea of the shape of the tools used in its construction. In addition to revealing the depth of the round section into which the dowel was inserted, it allowed us to understand the tool used to create the hole, which had a screw at the tip by which it could be attached during drilling.

The bed's decoration is complemented by veneer elements glued to the wooden structure with a protein-based adhesive, possibly an animal glue similar to that detected in the joints.

The finish on the surface of the wooden elements has two functions: protective and decorative. Possibly a varnish and a wax, it is probably not original, since the bed would have undergone maintenance on various occasions which may have included the application of these products. The existing finishes were analysed and a wax found to be present. However, the results were inconclusive as to its exact identification, as they were for the other materials found.



[fig. 15]
Graph of Ag content as a function of Cu content (%) obtained by XRF spectroscopy for the chosen set of Ag alloy objects. The elements were mostly standardised to 100%.

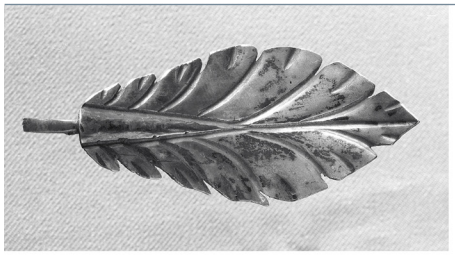
Metals

The bed comprises parts made of copper alloy, iron alloy and, mostly, silver alloy. Observation of the working technique suggested the existence of parts of the same type and the same metal made by different artisans. This could be due to later interventions or the working process itself (it is plausible that the roughly 400 silver alloy parts were made by different people). The metal alloys were therefore identified on the basis of the high number of silver-alloy parts and their differences in composition studied.

Silver alloys

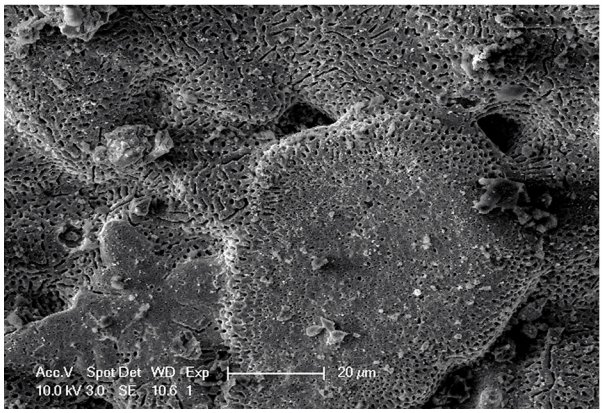
Figure 15 shows a graph of the silver (Ag) content relative to copper (Cu) obtained by XRF spectroscopy for a set of silver-alloy parts. Two groups can be identified, one with Ag values of 89-97% and Cu of 2-9% and the other with higher Cu values of 11-16%.

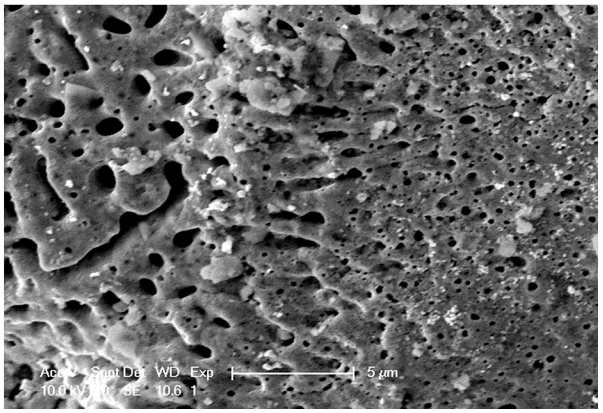
The first group covers the various types of parts (crowns, metal plate, bouquets and flowers) with no clear difference in the alloys used to make them. However, the data seems to indicate that the flowers and bouquets have a slightly lower copper content (< 3%) than the others. This may be due to the need for a more malleable alloy given their more complex form and construction.



[fig. 16]
Microphotographs of the altered surface of a fractured leaf from a bouquet of flowers.

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However, observation of a leaf by SEM [fig. 16] showed the existence of an altered porous surface. This may be the result of earlier interventions involving the use of strong acids to clean the parts leading to the dissolving of the Cu in the alloy.

The group composed of 81-86% silver and 11-16% copper consists of nails. Copper is added to silver to provide greater strength, a property necessary when attaching different silver-alloy parts, hence the higher copper content in the alloy used for these elements than in the other group.

The 760 silver-alloy parts are of different types [fig. 17]. They are mostly made by repoussé and chasing. As illustrated in [fig. 18-20] Silver alloy part B14. Design markings (dots) for the repoussé., the design markings used for the repoussé can be seen on the reverse of some pieces.

Visual examination allowed us to identify parts made by various artisans; some have more precise and detailed lines, while on others they are vaguer and the finish less careful [fig. 21]. Some of these differences are contemporary but others are certainly due to later interventions. In fact, some parts, such as the bouquets of flowers and fruit, have undergone various interventions involving the re-use and/or replacement of elements, soldering of others and probably the making of new ones.



[fig. 17]

Types of silver alloy pieces (KG15, D55, A25, KI9, FI, FD2, KN, MS, HY, HE, KT3, KH5 and KH7).

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[fig. 18]

Silver-alloy piece showing where it was cut on the base (KG15).

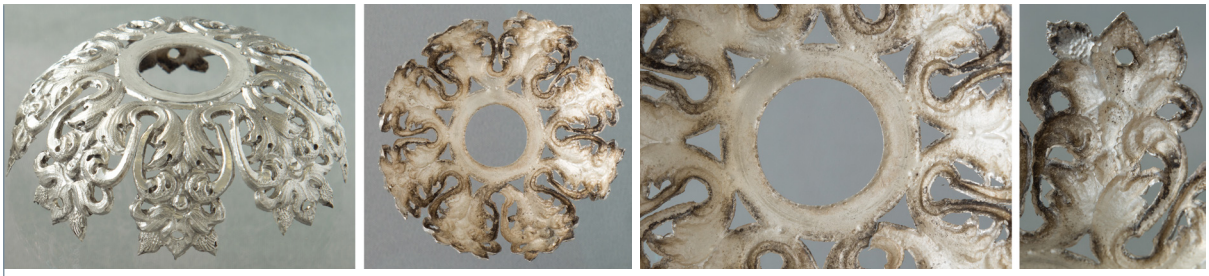
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[fig. 19]

Part KI9. Details of the chasing and repoussé.

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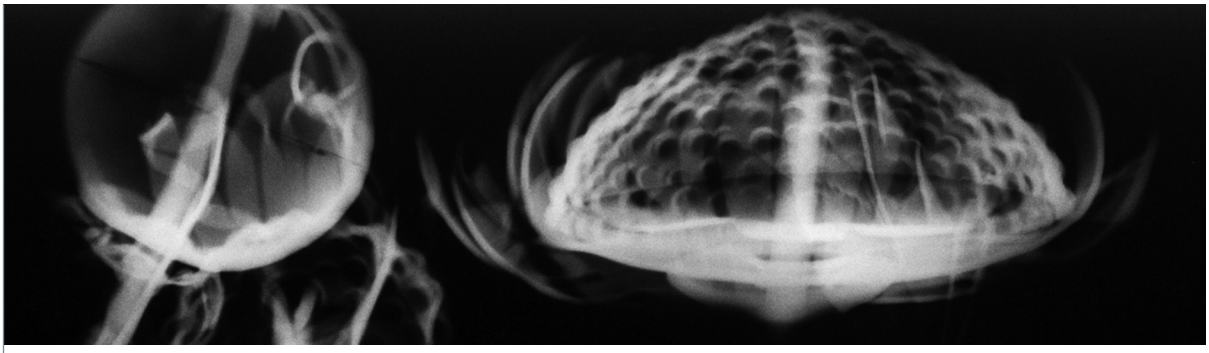
[fig. 20]

Silver alloy part B14. Design markings (dots) for the repoussé.

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[fig. 21]
Silver alloy parts (A35 and B14) made by different artisans.
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[fig. 22]
Radiography of a bouquet of flowers and fruit (EH1) showing the soldering on the two elements.
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The main joining technique used is soldering, which was applied to the curvilinear elements (crowns) and flower and fruit bouquets. Except for the hollow spherical and hemispherical elements of the bouquets, consisting of two elements [fig. 22], the soldering is generally shoddy, especially that done in later work on the bouquets, as can be seen in [fig. 23].

Some pieces are joined together by nuts and bolts, a fastening system identified on the bouquets of flowers and fruit [fig. 24], and by riveting.

To show the methods used to make the various elements, the way in which the various elements of the cypresses were made and attached is shown [fig. 25]. The radiography of this object [fig. 26] shows how it is assembled. There is a central vein to which silver-alloy plates of different diameters – which get smaller as they rise from the base to the top – are fixed. These plates are attached at the top by a fruit, in some cases by a screw thread and in others by soldering.



[fig. 23]
Sloppy soldering of the stems and leaves on a bouquet of flowers and fruit (ER1).

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[fig. 24]
Example of a nut and bolt fastening on a bouquet of flowers and fruit (EB1).

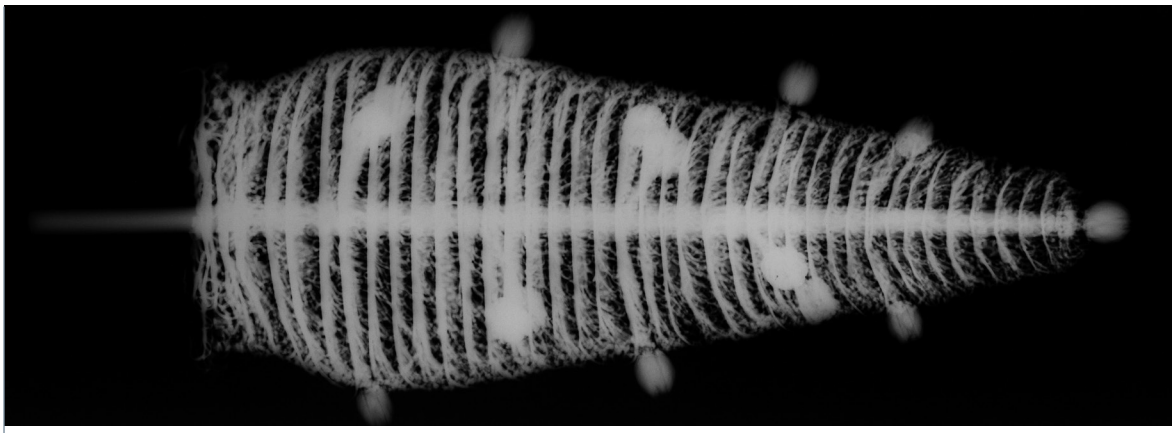
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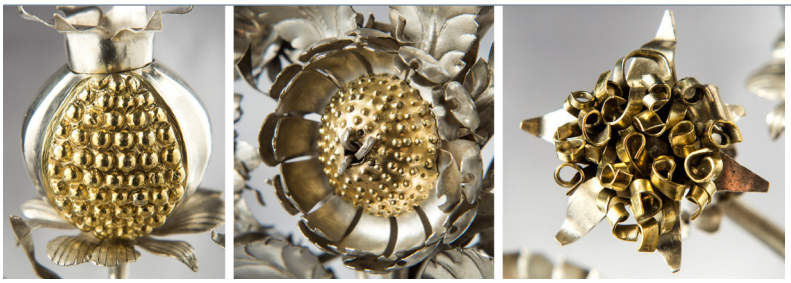
[fig. 25]
Details of the constituent elements of cypress C1.

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Some of the silver alloy parts are gilded [fig. 27], probably by mercury gilding, as identified by EDS. However, other pieces, such as the ones that present signs of previous conservation treatments as well as the ones manufactured in recent times, e.g. the bouquets of flowers and fruit, are whiter in colour [fig. 28]. These seem to have been gilded with a different technique, but it was not possible to verify this theory.



[fig. 26]
Radiography of cypress C1: the silver-alloy plates that form the shape are attached to the central vein.



[fig. 27]
Elements from a bouquet of flowers and fruit (ER1) decorated by mercury gilding.

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[fig. 28]
Bouquets of flowers and fruit (EV1): older (left), more recent (right) or subject to in-depth restoration (EJ1).

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Copper alloys

In addition to the silver-alloy parts, the bed has around 500 gilt copper-alloy pieces. XRF analysis identified the presence of copper and zinc with the content of the latter varying between 20 and 25%, thereby confirming the use of brass to make these pieces.



[fig. 29]
Types of copper-alloy parts (C50, C52, JF1, KV4, MB, KH4, GA + GF, C50, KA26, JJ2 and C103).
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Unlike the silver-alloy parts, the copper-alloy pieces are structural in function and are mostly used for finishing and fastening [fig. 29].

With the exception of 7 pieces (they would have been 8 originally) attached to the legs of the posts, all of the others were made by casting and mercury gilding, as identified by EDS. The circular parts were turned on a lathe [fig. 30]. The aforementioned 7 pieces were made from cutting a formerly silver-plated copper sheet.

It should be mentioned that some parts exhibited obvious manufacturing defects but were nevertheless still used in the re-assembly of the bed [fig. 31].

As mentioned, non-contemporary and more recently made silver-alloy parts were found which were undoubtedly made to replace missing pieces [fig. 32].



[fig. 30]
Copper-alloy pieces with visible lathe lines.
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[fig. 31]
Copper-alloy parts with manufacturing defects (EX11 and EM5).
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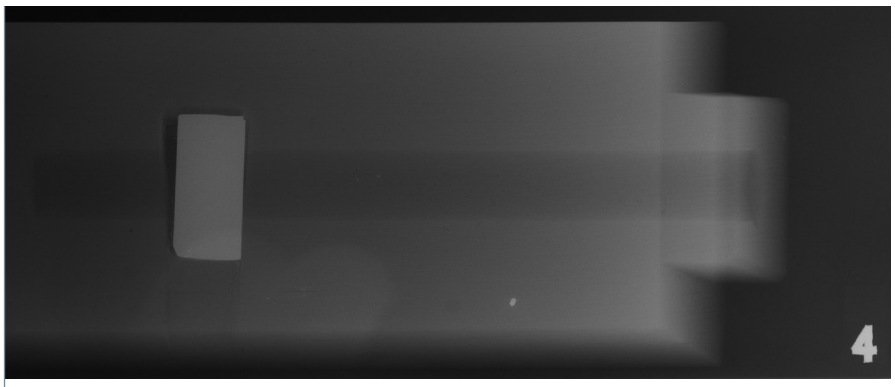


[fig. 32]
Older and more recent copper-alloy parts.
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[fig. 33]
Iron-alloy arming bolts with gilt copper-alloy heads.

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[fig. 34]
Radiography of a side rail in which a quadrangular iron-alloy nut can be observed.

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Iron alloys

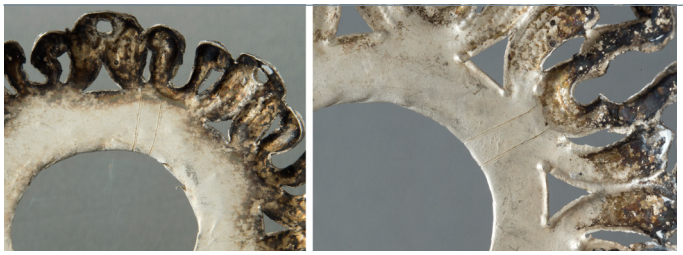
The iron-alloy parts have a structural role: to attach the posts to the side rails, headboard, legs and fixing of the upper elements of the posts. There are 32 iron-alloy elements, 14 of which are arming bolts. Of these, 12 are decorated at their ends with a gilt copper-alloy detail [fig. 33]. Like the other copper-alloy pieces, they have mercury gilding. The remaining pieces consist of nuts for arming bolts. The radiography in [fig. 34] identifies the presence of a rectangular nut inside a side rail. It should also be added that there is an iron spike at the top of each post.



[fig. 35]
Assembly marks (pieces D60, GF and KA4).
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[fig. 36]
Different marks on just one side of piece C17.
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[fig. 37]
Assembly marks (pieces A25 and A35).
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Diagnosis of the state of conservation

Earlier disassembly

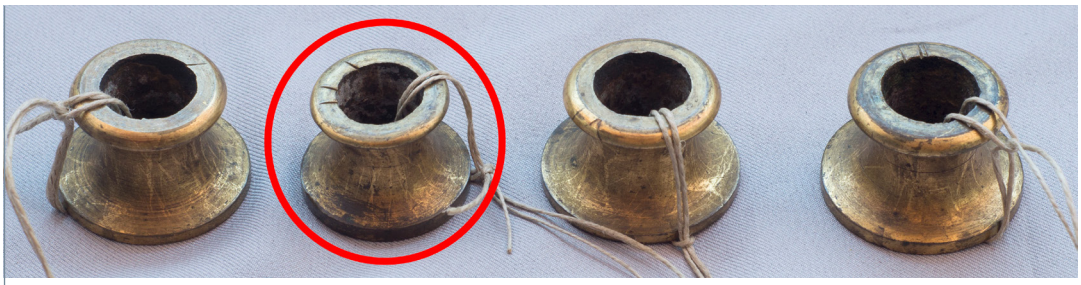
The data gathered during disassembly was processed and each piece observed to assess its condition. From this evaluation, primarily of note was the evidence of various disassemblies and re-assemblies over time, confirming what was suggested with regard to the history of the Cadaval bed over the years.

Assembly marks – Roman numerals or similar (parallel lines) – were found engraved on the wooden and metal pieces [fig. 35-37].



[fig. 38]
Matching grooves on the metal and wooden parts (B102 and B103; C98 and C99).

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[fig. 39]
Piece B8, circled in red, is different to the others (A8, C8 and D8).

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Also with regard to marks, it was seen that the notches on some of the silver-alloy pieces matched the inner notches observed on the turned wooden parts [fig. 38].

It was also noticed that some of the pieces had been swapped during assembly. This was detected after the bed was totally dismantled and the parts for the same positions on the A, B, C and D posts were compared [fig. 39].



[fig. 40]
A possible maker's mark (EL7).
© Archeofactu

Other markings on the wooden parts were also observed that do not seem to be associated with assembly marks. They appear to be intentional and may relate to the construction process or even a maker's mark, though no repeated markings were found [fig. 40].

Secondly, as noted above, a significant number of nails of different types (in silver alloy and iron alloy) were collected, corroborating the theory that the bed had been assembled and re-assembled various times. This fact may be explained by the presence of more holes in the wood (3,131) than nails (2,412). An example of this is an extra hole drilled to attach a gilt copper-alloy piece, as the original fixing point was blocked by a fragment of an iron nail [fig. 52].

Wooden pieces

The condition assessment revealed structural problems, with extensive cracking and fractures [fig. 41, 42]. Turned elements (rings) were missing in some places and there had been extensive material loss in others [fig. 43].

Various changes were observed such as the addition of extra parts (on posts C and D) to raise the bed's legs. It should be pointed out that all four posts are different. Post A is the same as post B and post C the same as post D.

Various structural elements had been replaced and new spikes inserted – by screwing or gluing – into the others [fig. 44]. In some, the spike was fixed in place with wedges. Other elements were glued with elastomers (contact adhesive) and pitch, for example. These had compromised the bed and, in some cases, made it impossible to dismantle. On some veneered areas, the wood leaf was coming loose due to loss of adhesion [fig. 45].



[fig. 41]

Piece KA14 was broken and only held in place by nails and the silver-alloy crown.

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[fig. 42]

Broken pieces on post A and post D.

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[fig. 43]

Missing wooden hoop from post A and gap in the wooden hoop on post D.

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[fig. 44]
New spikes made of iron alloy (EP4) and wood (EH4).

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[fig. 45]
Detachment of the veneer from the wood structure (Madeira I).

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The surface of the wooden elements was covered in dust and dirt [fig. 46]. Various pieces exhibited residues from products used to clean the metal pieces, which had been performed without prior dismantling. Adhesive tape and stickers were also detected on the surface.

The surface of some wooden elements is painted black to cover the lighter-coloured veins in the wood [fig. 47]. Some of the silver-alloy pieces are also painted black due to careless application. FTIR and GC/MS analysis of the paint allowed us to identify the presence of a quinizarine-based blue dye mixed with a drying oil,



[fig. 46]
Dust and residue from metal cleaning products on the wood (pieces C32 and D69).
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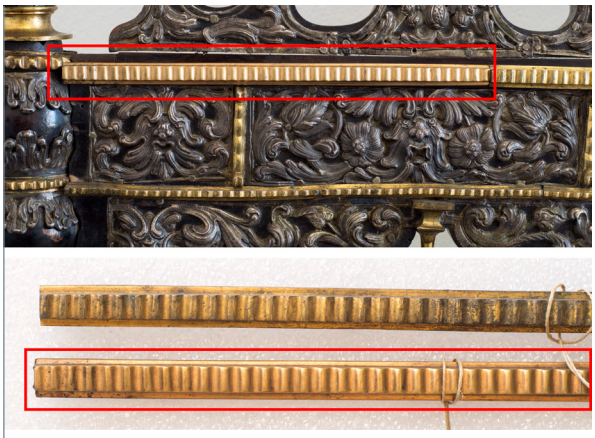


[fig. 47]
Piece ES6 made of wood and painted with black paint.
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shellac and pine resin. The concentrated use of the dye gave the surface its black colour. The composition of the paint also suggests this was applied after the bed was made and possibly after the 18th century, given that the use of shellac in furniture became common from the 19th century onwards.[12] It should be noted that quinizarine, though used since Antiquity, began to be made synthetically from the 19th century.



[fig. 48]
Crack in a gilt copper-alloy piece (HN).
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[fig. 49]
New piece (GA) circled in red. Comparison with the older piece (GI).
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Metal pieces

Disassembly revealed the structural fragility of some of the metal pieces, thirty-nine of which were identified as having developed cracks and/or fractures [fig. 48].

Various pieces were misshapen, both due to the way they were attached and the pressure some of the fastening elements had applied to them. Where pieces were missing, they had been replaced [fig. 49], while cracks and fractures on pieces had been soldered. To ensure the attachment of the metal elements to the wooden structure, some of the nails had been glued.

From a structural point of view, the ten bouquets of flowers were notable for their fragility, with some elements, such as the leaves, exhibiting extensive areas of cracking and fracturing. There was soldering in various places that was done at a later date, some somewhat carelessly. These pieces would have been fragile originally but were now even weaker structurally, and their handling was not advisable.

A lot of dust and dirt was concentrated on the surface of the pieces. Residues existed from various cleaning products such as calcium carbonate, aluminium oxide (possibly from Solarina) and wire wool. The presence of residues from different products suggested that cleaning had been carried out on various occasions to remove the corrosion products.



[fig. 50]
The grey and black corroded surface of the silver-alloy pieces (headboard, flowers and bouquets of flowers and fruit).

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[fig. 51]
Fractured iron nail and corrosion products on the silver and wood.

© Archeofactu

Grey and black corrosion products had developed on the surface of the silver-alloy pieces [fig. 2]. These products are characteristic of the atmospheric corrosion of silver alloys and are composed of silver sulphides and silver and copper oxides. Although stable, these corrosion products visually interfere with how the object is understood [fig. 50].

Iron corrosion products were found in places on the surface of the silver [fig. 51] due to the use of iron-alloy nails that had corroded and whose corrosion products had been deposited on the surface of the silver alloy.



[fig. 52]

Copper-alloy piece (FD1) (left). **A fourth hole was drilled (copper-alloy piece FF1) after one was blocked by a nail fragment and iron corrosion products. The piece shows widespread copper corrosion products on the gilded surface** (right).

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[fig. 53]

Gilt copper piece (KV4) with a change to a possible protective layer causing brown colouration.

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It was also possible to detect copper corrosion products on the silver alloy, revealing preferential corrosion of one of the alloy elements.

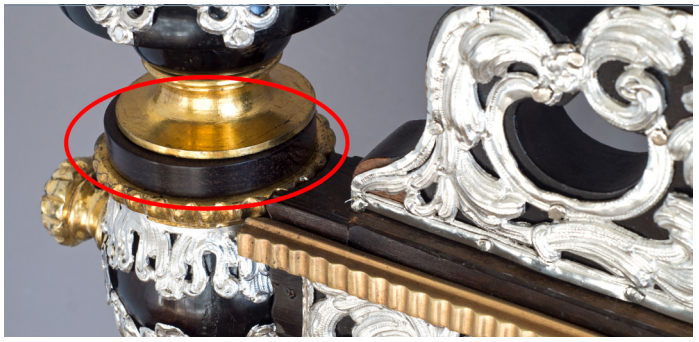
The surface of the gilt copper-alloy pieces showed homogeneous brown-coloured corrosion which may have resulted from the change to a protective layer, though it was not possible to confirm this [fig. 53]. Some of the pieces showed detachment of the gilding, which was also seen on the silver-gilt elements, but to a lesser extent, and the silver-plated copper-alloy elements.

The surface of the iron-alloy pieces showed widespread homogeneous corrosion with the formation of brown corrosion products that may have been caused by iron oxides and hydroxides.



[fig. 54]
The new piece and broken old one (D86) (left) **engraved with the year it was made** (right).

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[fig. 55]
A new piece (A51) made of rosewood.

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Conservation and restoration work

Wooden pieces

The work on the wooden pieces comprised the following tasks: i) gluing of the fractured pieces; ii) production of new pieces; iii) cleaning of the surface; iv) filling of the holes; v) and protection of the surface.

The pieces were glued – in the aim of ensuring physical integrity, enabling the future re-assembly of the bed – with a polyvinyl acetate adhesive, a removable glue suitable for structural joints. After diagnosing the condition, it was decided to make four new rings (A51, B16, C51 and D86) to replace two which were missing and two that were broken and which, if glued, would not be strong enough to support the assembly and fastening of the silver pieces [fig. 54]. A broken piece of the leg of post A was also remade. The new parts were made of Brazilian rosewood, a wood closer to that originally used in these pieces and engraved with the year they were made: 2018 [fig. 54].



[fig. 56]
Filling of holes with birch wood sticks glued with polyvinyl acetate.
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The wooden pieces were cleaned to remove the dust on the surface and the accumulated residues of metal cleaning products caused by earlier cleaning of the metal parts. This was done with white spirit, a suitable solvent for removing dirt without affecting the varnish on the surface of the wood. It should be mentioned that, during cleaning, it was observed that the varnish applied to the wood had been dyed to give it a darker colour. This varnish was not removed.

After the glued pieces and the cleaning of the surface, the nail holes were filled to ensure a new fastening for the metal pieces during re-assembly. This was done with birch wood sticks glued with polyvinyl acetate. It was decided to use birch sticks because, on the one hand, this wood is medium hard and strong enough to support the fastening and, on the other, because the shape of the stick ensured the work could be performed sequentially, optimising the amount of time needed, an important factor considering the high number of holes that needed to be filled [fig. 56]. As it was unknown which of the holes would be used to attach the metal elements, all of the holes were filled, amounting to a total of 3,131.

Finally, the surface of the wooden elements was protected with a layer of microcrystalline wax diluted with white spirit, a compound that is easy to apply and, if needed, removable [fig. 57].



[fig. 57]
Wooden pieces after the application of microcrystalline wax.

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Metal pieces

The method used to conserve the metal pieces was established according to the various alloys in question. Intervention was needed to remove the corrosion products that distorted how the various components and the whole of the bed was perceived and understood.

The process selected to remove the corrosion products from the silver-alloy pieces depended on the type of surface on the pieces, in particular those with gilding, and the condition. Removal was undertaken by chemical and mechanical cleaning. Chemical cleaning consisted of the use of a complexing agent – an aqueous solution of ethylenediaminetetraacetic acid (EDTA) – and mechanical cleaning was done with an abrasive – calcium carbonate – a soft compound (3 on the Mohs scale) and extra fine granulometry to reduce the abrasive effect.



[fig. 58]
Pieces of a similar type before, during and after cleaning.
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In both types of cleaning, after the use of acid and abrasive, the surface was cleaned with a solution of water and neutral detergent and rinsed with distilled water to remove the products used [fig. 58-60].

The removal of the corrosion products, formed on the surface of the gilt copper-alloy pieces, was done with acetone followed by an aqueous solution of formic acid. The pieces were also subject to cleaning with a solution of water and a neutral detergent and then rinsed with distilled water. After drying, a protective layer of microcrystalline wax diluted with white spirit was applied.

Iron-alloy surfaces were cleaned mechanically with a wire brush and the surface stabilised with an aqueous solution of tannic acid allowing the formation of iron tannate. Then they were rinsed with distilled water to remove any excess tannic acid. Finally, after drying, a protective layer of microcrystalline wax diluted with white spirit was applied.

In the case of the fractured but recoverable metal elements, it was decided to glue them together with epoxy adhesive given that some had a partial or total loss of volume and/or their contact surfaces were small or too distorted. In the case of the fractured silver-alloy elements, such as certain types of crowns and plate, whose fragments were attached to the wooden structure by nails in earlier interventions, this method was maintained given that it was more efficient than gluing. The holes that already existed were used to attach them to the silver and wood.



[fig. 59]

Bouquet of flowers before and after cleaning.

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[fig. 60]

Detail of a silver plate before and after cleaning.

© Archeofactu



[fig. 61]
Re-assembly of silver alloy plate on the wooden mounting.
© Archeofactu



[fig. 62]
Casting tree for the new nails (left) **and the nails after cutting and polishing** (right).
© Archeofactu

Re-assembly

The re-assembly of the bed began in the headboard area with the attachment of the silver-alloy pieces to their wooden mountings [fig. 61].

The attachment method was the same as the original – silver-alloy nails – using the same holes previously used for the metal and wooden elements. Wherever possible, the original nails (types 1 and 2) were used, but in some cases this was not feasible due to their condition. Most of the re-used nails were on the headboard. During the dismantling process, it was also noticed that some nails were missing.

Assembly was thus preceded by the creation of 1,300 silver alloy nails. The alloy composition (835 ‰) was chosen based on the results obtained on the composition of the original silver-alloy nails. The shape of the nail chosen corresponded to the intermediate size between types 1 and 2. The new nails were made by lost-wax casting and then cut, filed and polished [fig. 62].



[fig. 63, 64, 65]
Detail of the Cadaval bed before and after the intervention.

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After the headboard, re-assembly began on the posts by attaching the silver-alloy and gilt copper-alloy elements, finishing with the joining of the different pieces already mounted, such as the structural rails [fig. 63-65].



[fig. 66]
The detachable elements as they were arranged before the intervention (above) **and the final arrangement decided by the entity responsible for the bed's safeguarding** (below).

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It should be mentioned that the final arrangement of the detachable elements – cypresses, flowers and bouquets of flowers and fruit – does not correspond to the arrangement prior to this intervention. It differs in the location of the main bouquets of flowers and fruit which now occupy the place of the cypresses at the top of the posts. The final arrangement was decided by the entity responsible for safeguarding the Cadaval bed [fig. 66]. Consideration was given to ensuring the proposed change would not affect the preservation of the elements. The change to its arrangement was therefore pursued even though it was necessary to widen some of the holes in the wooden structure.

Final considerations

Although the benefits of multidisciplinary studies on cultural heritage have been discussed for a long time, the cases in which it is possible to implement a conservation project that integrates the material and technological study of the object are few and far between.

Given that the Cadaval bed is a rare and singular object consisting of several complex pieces, the opportunity to combine the identification and characterisation of the materials and production techniques with the conservation work, by using the testing and analysis techniques, is certainly unusual and therefore deserves to be given the acknowledgement it deserves.

The synergy between the conservation and material study processes allowed more guided conservation and the collection of information about the object which would not have been practical any other way. The work, data and results described and discussed here must be regarded as sources of information which may, and should, be explored at a time subsequent to this moment in the trajectory of the Cadaval bed.

The material study helped to clarify the types of wood used to make the bed, with *Dalbergia melanoxylon* (African blackwood) being the main species identified, and allowed a description of how the more complex metal pieces were made, such as the cypresses and the bouquets of flowers. It also permitted us to make deductions as to the condition of the metals, as revealed by the microscopic study of certain elements.

In addition to resolving structural issues, the conservation intervention returned the Cadaval bed to how it would have originally appeared. However, it is important to stress that the environmental conditions in the place where the bed is exhibited should be monitored and controlled. Silver alloy, one of the bed's constituent parts, is susceptible to atmospheric corrosion in environments with high humidity and very low concentrations of pollutants. For example, silver corrodes in the presence of sulphur-based compounds by an order of magnitude

of parts per million (ppm). Maintenance of the Cadaval bed should be regular and performed by technical personnel with prior training. Only in this way can the results of this intervention be maintained for a prolonged period of time and awareness of this extraordinary object ensured.

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NOTES

1 Garcia, 1991: 5.

2 Garcia, 1991: 5.

3 Dos Santos, 1953: 381.

4 Távora, 1972; Athayde, 1986: 236-237; Franco, 2000: 39.

5 Athayde, 1986: 236-237.

6 Franco, 2000: 39.

7 Dos Santos, 1953: 383.

8 Távora, 1972: 11.

9 The parts were weighed with their identifying labels (thread and low-density polyethylene bag), the weight of which was deducted at the end to ensure an accurate figure.

10 The following databases were used:

- IAWA Committee. 1986. IAWA List of Microscopic Features for Hardwood Identification. IAWA Journal 10(3): 225-352.
- Ferreirinha M. 1955. *Catálogo das Madeiras de Moçambique*. Ministério do Ultramar, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Memórias Série Botânica II. Part I. 131 pages.
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- http://delta-intkey.com/wood/index.htm (Richter, H.G. and Dallwitz, M.J.)
- http://insidewood.lib.ncsu.edu/search (The Inside Wood - Carolina do Norte)

11 According to Teresa Quilhó (LAV), the wood of *Diospyros* is frequently confused and very often difficult to distinguish, even anatomically, from the wood of *Dalbergia sp.* A case in point is *Dalbergia melanoxylon,* known as blackwood, and *Diospyros crassiflora* and *Diospyros mespiliformis*, both called African ebony, given their similar outward appearance, great density, fine texture and black colour.

12 McGowan-Jackson, 1992: 29.

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THE CADAVAL BED:

PORTUGUESE LUXURY AND STATUS

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Mentioned for the first time by Reynaldo dos Santos in 1953,[1] followed shortly afterwards by Fernando Castelo-Branco in *Lisboa Seiscentista*[2] in 1956, the "Cadaval bed", which belonged to the Marquise Olga de Cadaval at the beginning of the 1950s, merited a long study in 1972 by the scholar of Portuguese furniture, Bernardo Ferrão de Tavares e Távora.[3] This remains the only monograph dedicated to the bed[4] until now and was written after the news of its supposed sale to a buyer in London, leading the author to protest the loss of such an important piece from the nation's artistic heritage and suggest its acquisition and inclusion in the collection of the Palace of the Dukes of Bragança in Guimarães or the Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis in Porto.[5]

Bernardo Ferrão stresses the exceptional nature and rarity of the bed [fig. 1], since it was one of the "ébano" (ebony) and silver examples of which only documentary evidence had hitherto existed, as opposed to the contemporary Portuguese wooden beds that were also turned but decorated with rings and pierced plates of gilt brass, called "*leitos bronzeados*" (bronzed beds)[6] in documents, and of which at the time several examples were known [fig. 2]. As the author notes, the existence of these beds was revealed by Luís de Bivar Guerra in 1954 when he published the inventory of the assets seized from the House of Távora in 1759, which included a precious ebony and silver bed,[7] and at an earlier date by Silva Nascimento in *Leitos e Camilhas Portugueses* (1950) in which he mentions the ebony and silver *camilhas* (small beds) used for the royal baptisms in 1669 and 1689.[8]



[fig. 1]
View of the bed of the dukes of Cadaval at the National Palace of Sintra
Portugal, 17th century (second half).
Pau-preto and other exotic woods. Silver, gilt silver and brass.
Height 2.96 m x Width 2.10 m x Length 2.32 m.
Palácio Nacional de Sintra
Inv. PNS6207

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Interestingly, as Hugo Xavier notes in this monograph, Silva Nascimento disliked the Cadaval bed, of whose existence he only became aware after it had already been sold by the antiques dealer Elena Hortega to Augusto de Ataíde, whom Silva Nascimento advised to dispose of it. In fact, the bed does not appear in *Leitos e Camilhas Portugueses* which, though published in 1950, is the first and only attempt at a systematic characterisation of beds of this type. Silva Nascimento noted that two types of bed became widespread in the 17th century. The first was Italian inspired and "*de torneado simples, com cabeceiras de composição arquitectónica de arcarias e colunas*" (simply turned with an architectural headboard of arches and columns)[9] which in some cases had a headboard of overlapping arches decorated with rings and pierced



[fig. 2]
Canopy bed
Portugal, 17th century.
Pau-santo wood and gilt brass.
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon
Inv. 1376 Mov

© DGPC/ADF | Photo: José Pessoa

gilt brass that the author dates from the late 16th to mid-17th centuries and of which this is an example. The second type had a "*cabeceira de elementos torneados dispostos verticalmente, intercalados de largos travessões e remates entalhados*" (headboard with vertical turned pieces interspersed with broad friezes and carved cresting)[10] with typical Portuguese turned wood elements and, in many cases, spiral sections, turned headboard railing alternating with carved friezes (in some cases filled with mouldings of decorative *tremidos*[11] and *espinhados*[12]) and a profusion of turned pieces resembling spindles and *bilros*. These are commonly known as "*camas de bilros*" (*Bilros*-style beds)[13] which the author preferably dates from the second half of the 17th and first quarter of the 18th centuries [fig. 3].



[fig. 3]
Detail of a bed headboard
Portugal, 17th century (end) – 18th century (beginning). *Pau-santo* wood.
Coat of arms of João Franco de Oliveira, Archbishop of São Salvador da Baía (1692) and Bishop of Miranda (1701-1715).
Museu do Abade de Baçal, Bragança
Inv. 96

© DGPC | Photo: José Pessoa, 1994

The study of the Cadaval bed raises several questions. The first of these concerns its dating. Was it made in the first half of the 17th century or later, i.e. the second half of that century or the early decades of the 18th? Bernardo Ferrão dated it to the late 17th or early 18th, unsuccessfully attempting to include it in the "*Câmara de aparato do século XVII*" section at the *Exposição de ambientes portugueses dos séculos XVI a XIX* (Exhibition of Portuguese Interiors from the 16th to 19th Centuries) held at the Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis in Porto in 1969.[14] Based on an analysis of its turned wood structure, he classified it as belonging to one of the "*tipos menos comuns da série dos nossos leitos seiscentistas, caracterizada pelo espaldar de dupla andada de balaustres, com duas barras horizontais trabalhadas e ausência de estruturas decorativas sobrepujando a barra superior*" (less common types from the series of our seventeenth-century beds, characterised by a headboard with a double balustrade,

two ornate horizontal panels and the absence of decorative structures surmounting the upper one),[15] a series in which he included *roca*[16] turned beds and the examples with "*passo alongado*" turning.[17]

This then led him to a further question which still remains unresolved to this day. Does the series of beds to which the Cadaval bed belongs, with "torneados 'de roca', moldurados e apainelados lisos, embutidos de marfim ou aplicações metálicas, e nenhum, ou reduzido, trabalho de talha" (turned *roca*, flat wood mouldings and panels, inlaid with ivory or metal adornments and little or no carving)[18], date from the first half of the 17th century, just prior to the examples with "torneados salomónicos, moldurados e apainelados de tremidos e talha baixa de tipo indo-português ou saliente, de carácter metropolitano" (Solomonic turned supports and decorative elements, *tremidos* mouldings and panels, and Indo-Portuguese low relief carving type or more prominent Portuguese relief carving),[19] or did both models coexist? In other words, does the Cadaval bed date from the first half of the 17th century or later, reproducing a model that lived on until the early decades of the 18th century?

In an attempt to resolve the issue, Bernardo Ferrão pointed to the early depiction in late-16th-century paintings of beds with headboards of turned balusters, an issue he returned to in his posthumously published study of Portuguese furniture in 1990. There he refers to the existence of 16th-century beds with turned canopy posts that almost never included the headboard. He concluded from this that the form they took in the 17th century only began to take shape at the end of the 16th: "*uma estrutura em grade, constituída por balaústres torneados rematando com guarnições superiores de bilros*" (a structure of rows comprising turned balusters with decorative *bilros* on the top).[20]

Bernardo Ferrão also highlighted the need to continue the pioneering work of the North American historian Robert C. Smith, namely his study of the furniture depicted in the small ex-voto tablets showing the gradual popularisation of these two types of bed during the second half of the 17th century and their lingering use until the third quarter of the 18th,[21] as well as the documentary survey of the contracts for church railings and pulpits and sacristy furniture which allow existing examples to be dated and their evolution analysed. Smith has also verified that while

smooth spindle turning combined with bowl-shaped elements emerged essentially on balusters from the 1650s, 60s and 70s – a model gradually replaced in the 1680s and 1690s by spiral turned elements combined with turned elements in the form of cups, bowls, disks, among others, when he suggests the Solomonic column spread across Portugal after its introduction in the 1670s – in the first quarter of the 18th century some Portuguese furniture made in the style typical of the Spanish Habsburg kings during the Iberian Union (1580-1640), also known as "*Filipino*"-style, was still being produced. This, according to Bernardo Ferrão, raises the possibility that the bed in question, despite its archaic type of turned *roca* structure, dates from the end of the 17th or early 18th century.[22] In parallel, the isolated rectangular brass plates mounted at intervals across the wooden surface, which decorated the first railings and are found in some examples of "*bronzeados*" beds, were gradually replaced by pierced brass plates that comprehensively covered the smooth surface without hiding the wood. It is this total filling of the surface used on the railings and sacristy furniture from the late-17th and first decades of the 18th centuries that we find on the headboard of the bed in question. This seems to indicate it was made later, in the 1670s-80s, which is exactly the dating proposed by Bernardo Ferrão, who also justified it on the grounds of the silverwork – which Reynaldo dos Santos had classified as typical of Portuguese baroque silverware from the second half of the 17th century[23] – and the archaic characteristics of Portuguese furniture from the early 18th century as confirmed by Smith's documentary evidence. In fact, this dating would incorporate the bed into an international taste for silver furniture that was much in vogue in European courts in the late-17th and early-18th century.[24] However, the use of silver for garnishing beds, and even the manufacture of furniture in silver, or decorated with it, actually dates back in the Iberian Peninsula to the 1500s[25] and, in the case of Portuguese beds, is documented since the first half of the 1600s.

Finally, Bernardo Ferrão, who recognised certain oriental influences in the bed, did not reject the hypothesis that it could be a hybrid production, i.e. possibly made in Portugal by Indian artisans or by Portuguese craftsmen in Goa or another Indian city.[26] There are records, albeit rare, of examples of beds made in India of Indian *pau-santo* wood (probably sissoo), like those owned in 1692 by the Count of Vila Pouca de Aguiar, Aires Teles de Meneses, at his Quinta de Vale Fermoso estate, described as "*hum leito pequeno de pao-santo feito na India em bom uzo visto e avaliado em outo mil reis*" (a small

pau-santo wood bed made in India in good condition assessed at eight thousand *réis*), "*hum leito de pao-santo grande feito na India que foi visto e avaliado em mil reis*" (a large *pau-santo* wood bed made in India assessed at a thousand *réis*) and "*hum leito de pao-santo pequeno feito na India visto e avaliado em outo mil reis*" (a small *pau-santo* wood bed made in India assessed at eight thousand *réis*).[27] However, the existence of an important Portuguese production of turned beds, in imported exotic woods from Brazil, Asia and Africa, decorated with gilt brass and, in some cases, silver; the absence of references to an Indian origin or production of "ebony" and silver beds; the scale of the trade in imported wood; and the macro and microscopic examination of the wood in the Cadaval bed all make this hypothesis increasingly unlikely. The main species used was identified as *Dalbergia melanoxylon*, commonly known in Portuguese as *pau-preto* or ébano *de Moçambique*. Other wood species were also identified such as Brazilian *jacarandá* and *angelim*, among others,[28] confirming the theory which I advanced in an earlier study[29] that the "ebony" these beds were made of, and other furniture such as tables, was often actually the renowned *pau-preto* or *pau de Moçambique*. [fig. 4]

17th-century Portuguese beds: "ebony" and other types of wood

Given the lack of examples that are dated or have associated documentation, the study of the Portuguese turned "*bronzeados*" beds entails analysis of documentary sources and cross-referencing of information. Beds using these materials were very common in Portugal and Spain, as well as the more lavish examples which in addition to gilt brass, namely in the frames, rings and balusters, were also richly decorated with silver, like the bed of the Dukes of Cadaval at the National Palace of Sintra. In fact, the "ebony" and silver beds repeat the ornamental scheme used on those decorated with gilt brass. This is actually common to the other Portuguese "*bronzeado*" furniture in which the use of gilt and pierced brass plates and rings conferred a strong contrast between the gold of the metal and the lustrous dark, almost black, surface of the wood. To this was added the sensation of movement conveyed by the turning, properties which, according to the historian Robert C. Smith, gave Portuguese baroque furniture great originality.[30]



[fig. 4]
Cadaval bed. Detail of the *pau-preto* (*Dalbergia melanoxylon*) posts and headboard
Palácio Nacional de Sintra
PNS6207

© PSML | Photo: João Krull, 2019

However, the concise descriptions of these pieces of furniture in the inventories of assets and other sources, which repeatedly identify only the materials (the wood and the decorative metal – bronze or silver) with rare references to the turning or otherwise worked wood or to the number of headboard tiers, allow us only to confirm that "*bronzeados*" beds were made in the first decade of the 1600s and that they persisted into the second half of the 17th century and first half of the 18th.

While its wooden frame certainly evolved during the 17th century, specifically the type of turning, these pieces of furniture continued to be repeatedly made of dark and lustrous wood imported from Asia, Africa and Brazil. In Portuguese documents, there are references to beds made of ébano, *pau-santo*, *pau-preto*[31] and *pau de*

Moçambique, also known as ébano *de Moçambique* (African blackwood, *Dalbergia melanoxylon*), as Luís Mendes de Vasconcelos[32] and Frei Nicolau de Oliveira[33] mentioned at the beginning of the 1600s. More rarely, there are references to *pau-violeta* wood and also examples made of *granadillo* wood, much used in Seville and Mexico for beds copying the Portuguese model, very often also decorated with bronze adornments. References to these renowned and valued types of wood were frequent in Spanish sources, both as regards the trade in them and the furniture made from them, above all "ébano *de Portugal*", "ébano *de Lisboa*" and "ébano *de Lisboa de la* Índia".[34] There are also references to "*palo-santo de Portugal*",[35] probably Brazil jacaranda, which is also called *pau-preto* in the documentation, at least in the north of Portugal.[36]

These exotic woods were used for their properties, which allowed them to be carved by turning, and for their similarity to true ebony (*Diospyros*) – the noble wood used in European luxury cabinetmaking and almost always combined with materials such as ivory, tortoise-shell, silver and gold. They were used, such as the famed "ebony from Portugal" bought in Lisbon at the end of the 1570s by King Felipe II of Spain to make *escritorios* (fall-front writing cabinets), for most of the beds that appear in the documents and for some luxury cabinetmaking.[37] This explains why the wood, namely *pau de Moçambique*, in many beds and other pieces of furniture such as tables is identified as ebony in the period documentation, as I mentioned in an earlier study.[38] This occurs, for example, in the inventory by Helena de Noronha, the second wife of Manuel de Vasconcelos, lord of the majorat of Esporão and member of the Council of Portugal. Mentioned among the various lists of moveable assets located in Lisbon, namely in the houses in Marvila, and in Madrid, where her husband died in April 1637, are two beds made of ebony which the valuer consistently changes to *pau-santo* wood: "*cama de evano com colgadura de tafeta dobre, diz que a cama não he de evano senão de pão santo*" (an ebony bed with double taffeta hangings, it is said that the bed is not ebony but *pau-santo*). This is followed by more amendments: "*colgadura de damasco pardo e cama de evano que tambem he de pao santo*" (brown damask hangings and ebony bed which is also of *pau-santo*) and "*colgadura de Raxa com outra cama de Evano que também he de pão santo*" (*Raxa* [woollen cloths] hangings with another ebony bed that is also of *pau-santo*).[39]

The same occurs in the Spanish documentation on the bed bequeathed to the Virgin of Elche by the 7th Duke of Aveiro, Gabriel de Lencastre Ponce de León Manrique de Lara Cárdenas Girón y Aragón (d. 1745).[40] This bed is almost identical to the one in question and until 2016-2017 was unknown to Portuguese scholars.[41] It is repeated in the documentation written in Lisbon in 1753, at the time of the bed's delivery by the agents of the executors of the duke of Aveiro' will to the agent of the administrators of the entailment of the Virgin of Elche, the French merchant Luís Cassou, where the wood is identified as both ebony and *pau-santo*.[42] In the will, dated 1745, the duke refers to the bed as "*a cama de* Ébano *guarnecida de plata*" (the ebony bed garnished with silver).[43] However, and in similarity to the Cadaval bed, everything would suggest that the bed which belonged to the 7th Duke of Aveiro is also made of *pau-preto* (African blackwood, *Dalbergia melanoxylon*).

17th-century Portuguese "*bronzeados*" beds: documentary records

The documentary records confirm the existence of Portuguese "*bronzeados*" beds made of these imported woods and their production in Portugal in the first half of the 1600s. Their manufacture would have started at the end of the 16th century or, more reliably, in the first decade of the 17th, since in Porto, among the objects forbidden by the decree of 1609 and which had to be compulsorily registered by their owners, were a "*leito de pao preto com gornições de latom douradas*" (*pau-preto* wood bed with gilt brass decoration)[44] and a *pau-santo* wood bed decorated with gilt brass.[45] José Augusto Carneiro was responsible for publishing a little known study at the end of the 19th century on many of the assets belonging to the counts of Penaguião at the so-called Palace of the Marquesa in 1624 and described in the orphanological inventory conducted in Porto on the death of Countess Joana de Castro, a resource that I examined for my study about the furniture registered as a result of the decree of 1609.[46] This inventory lists various examples of "*bronzeados*" beds alongside sumptuous furniture mostly made of *pau-santo* or ebony, or identified as such, decorated with ivory, mother-of-pearl or silver, such as: a "*contador de pau preto com lavôr de montaria de marfim*" (*pau-preto* cabinet with ivory hunting

decoration), probably Mughal, a "*contador pequeno com suas gavetas de lavôr de marfim e prata*" (small cabinet with drawers with ivory and silver decoration), two "*bofetes de pau preto com guarnições de marfim*" (*pau-preto* tables with ivory garnishing), a "*bofete de prata assentado sobre pau* ébano" (silver table mounted on ebony), a "*escriptorio guarnecido de marfim*" (fall-front writing cabinet garnished with ivory), an "*escriptorio de pau ebano com suas gavetas e figuras douradas de latão*" (ebony fall-front writing cabinet with drawers and gilt brass figures) and a "*cofre de pau ebano lavrado de madrepérola*" (ebony casket with mother-of-pearl).[47] As far as the beds are concerned, two "*de pau ebano tauxiados de marfim*" (of ebony with ivory) beds, two small *pau-preto* and bronze beds, two *pau de Moçambique* and bronze beds, and one "*berço de pau preto com cortinas de rendas de prata e ouro*" (*pau-preto* cot with silver and gold lace curtains)[48] are mentioned, along with other beds with their chests, that is, beds used for travelling.

In Lisbon, the 1628 inventory of assets of Maria de Brito, the widow of Francisco de Noronha, mentions a "*leito de pau-santo com algumas molduras de bronce nas macanetas de sima*" (*pau-santo* bed with some bronze mouldings on the finials), a piece valued at 5,000 *réis*.[49] And in 1637, the aforementioned inventory by Helena de Noronha, refers to a "*leito grande de ferragem dourada e pao santo guarnecido de Bronze*" (large *pau-santo* bed garnished with bronze adornments and gilt mounts).[50] In 1651, the Count of Vila Franca not only had a "*bronzeado*" *pau-preto* bed in his chamber, for which he had the respective winter and summer furnishings, but also among the assets included in his daughter's dowry was a "*bronzeado*" *pau-santo* bed and its respective furnishings.[51] In 1659, on the death of the 2nd Count of Castelo Melhor, João Rodrigues de Vasconcelos e Sousa (1593-1658), an inventory was conducted of the assets of the palace located near Portas de Santo Antão in Rua Direita da Anunciada. In the room of the male children, Luís and Simão, in addition to two chest-beds that could be mounted and stored in chests intended for use on journeys, there were two "*bronzeados*" beds described as "*Hum leito de pao-santo de huma so pessoa com algum bronze que foi visto e avaliado em des mil reis*" (A *pau-santo* bed for one person with some bronze that was assessed and valued at ten thousand *réis*), for which there existed "*Hum paramento da mesma cama de damasco cramezim com sobreçeo e quedas do*

mesmo cobertor e rodapé guarnecido tudo de franja e alamares de ouro que foi visto e avaliado em trinta mil reis" (A set of crimson damask furnishings with a canopy and drapes of the same fabric and a lower valance all garnished with gold fringes and braids assessed and valued at thirty thousand *réis*) and "*Hum leito grande de pao-santo bronzeado com sobre-grade e piramida que foi visto e avaliado em vinte e sinquo reis*" (A large bronzed *pau-santo* bed with a *sobregrade* and pavilion finial inspected and valued at twenty-five *réis*). The *sobregrade* is probably a reference to the headboard with two railings of overlapping balusters.[52] These and many other examples confirm the existence of "*bronzeados*" beds in the first decade of the 17th century and, as it would seem to indicate, Portuguese production, given the lack of any reference to either European or Indian centres of production common in the descriptions in the inventories and other documentary sources. They also confirm their gradually increasing popularity in the following decades, revealing their value and the sizes in which they were made: for a single person or a couple, like the bed studied here.

These Portuguese beds decorated with gilt brass [fig. 5], which also garnishes the Cadaval and Aveiro beds, the latter in Elche since the 18th century, were so admired that King João IV chose them as diplomatic gifts, like those he sent abroad with other goods in 1645: "*São necessários para meu serviço alguns escritórios do Charão da China, colchas finas, contas de calembuco, e alguns brincos da India & um par de Leitos bons dos que se fazem no Reyno, … e são para mandar a alguas pessoas fora do Reyno*".[53] They were even deemed lavish enough for the accommodation prepared for the French ambassador, given that in the summer of 1657 two beds were made of *pau jacarandá* wood, with bronze, for the apartments of the French ambassador (the Count of Cominges) which were "*armaram*" (mounted) in the home of the Viscount (of Vila Nova de Cerveira). This furniture appeared in the inventory taken at the start of 1658 after the death of João IV in November 1656 among the pieces held by the secretary António Cavide and identified as belonging to King Afonso VI: "*dous leitos de pao jacaranda com seos bronzes que são de El Rey Nosso Sr que Deos guarde e se fizerão este verão* pª o *apresto que se ordenava na caza do Bisconde* pª o *embaixador de França*" (two *pau jacarandá* beds with bronze that belong to His Majesty [Afonso VI of Portugal], … , and were made this summer for the apartments prepared in the Viscount's house for the French ambassador).[54]



[fig. 5]
Cadaval bed. Details of the gilt brass elements.
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The use of this bronze decoration continued into the second half of the 1600s, as the creation of one of these beds in 1666 for the wedding of Afonso VI to Marie-Françoise-Élisabeth de Savoie attests. While still decorated with "*bronzes dourados*" (gilt bronze), this already had "*troçidos*" (*torcidos*, spiral turning).[55] Judging by the documents and known examples, this garnishing was disappearing, especially on new beds with spiral turning, to which herringbone and wave and carved mouldings were added. Countless reports emerged of beds devoid of this gilding, like those belonging to Fernando de Sousa Coutinho Castel-Branco e Meneses, Count of Redondo, and valued in 1707-1708: a "*leito de páo violete de doze balaustes cada hum deles trosido, avaliado o trossido em quarenta e outo mil reis digo, avaliado o de sima em trinta mil reis e o ondeado em vinte mil reis que tudo soma sincoenta mil reis*" (*pau-violeta* bed with twelve balusters each of which twisted, the spiral turning work valued at forty-eight thousand *réis*, the upper one at thirty thousand and the *ondeado* one at twenty thousand, making fifty thousand *réis* in

all) and a "*leito pequeno de criança de sinco balaustes trosido bem tratado avaliado em outo mil reis*" (small child's bed with five twisted balusters in good condition valued at eight thousand *réis*).[56] The 1704 inventory of the assets of the 4th Count of Vila Nova de Portimão, Luís de Lencastre, lists a "*leito de Evano retrocido*" (twisted ebony bed) valued at 50,000 *réis* housed in the Palace of Santos-o-Velho[57] and a will dating from 1701, divulged by João Miguel Simões,[58] refers to a "*leito de jacarandá novo a uso moderno sem bronze*" (new jacaranda bed in the new style without bronze), which seems to confirm that the new beds in vogue no longer had the gilt brass garnishing. However, this is an area that requires study, as this gilt brass garnishing is repeatedly used on furniture, particularly pulpits and railings, as well as sacristy chest of drawers and cupboards during the second half of the 17th century and early decades of the 18th, as the dated and documented examples and studies by Robert C. Smith attest.[59]

Portuguese or Portuguese-style beds: the model's trade and reproduction

Turned wood beds achieved huge success in Spain, being extremely popular throughout the 17th century and into the 18th. Among these were those garnished with gilt brass described in contemporary documents, and just like in Portugal, as "*bronceados*" ("*bronzeados*" in Portuguese, bronzed), which, according to María Paz Aguiló Alonso, were Portuguese-style turned wooden beds with ornate gilt brass mounts.[60] This is substantiated by the abundance of examples of this kind in the inventories, wills, dowries[61] and other Spanish documentary sources from this period. Thus, and bearing in mind that in Spanish the word *cama* also referred to the bedstead (the frame of the bed), Portuguese beds or beds made in Portugal could also be found in Spain, such as the two bronzed *pau-santo* examples that belonged to the dukes of Arcos and which in 1673 were described as made in Lisbon and valued at 4,000 *reales*.[62] In fact, included in the vast list of assets of this ducal house, to which the 7th Duke of Aveiro, Gabriel de Lencastre Ponce de León, belonged, and which were left on the death of the 4th Duke, Rodrigo Ponce de León (1602-1658), there were various examples of beds decorated with gilt bronze among the wooden and iron examples (the latter from Naples) listed. These included the ebony bed garnished with gilt bronze and a *varanda* (almost certainly the headboard railing) bought in

the town of Rota (Cádiz) on which the 4th duke slept and which was also described as being made of *pau-santo* and having damask and gold furnishings. The list also includes another two beds of bronzed *granadillo*, one with a high *varanda*, another new one with an image of Our Lady of Conception and another three examples made of bronzed walnut wood.[63] In the inventory of assets left on the death of the 4th Duke of Medina de Rioseco was a turned *pau-santo* bed garnished with countless pieces of bronze, of which 8 to 10 pieces were missing. This bed was decorated on the headboard with cartouches, a coat of arms and 6 *verjuelillas*[64] and was described and valued in the 1691 inventory at 1000 *reales*.[65]

The types of wood used to make beds and other pieces of furniture, such as "ébano de Portugal", suggests it came mostly from the Portuguese trade in exotic woods. According to María Paz Aguiló Alonso, the examples made of ebony and bronze and *pau-santo* and bronze are almost always described in Spanish inventories as Portuguese beds or even beds made in Portugal,[66] while those made of *granadillo*, lighter-coloured than *pau-santo*, with or without bronze, are largely referred to as Sevillian beds and are frequently mentioned in Sevillian dowries.[67] Of these, those described as *bronzeadas* followed the Portuguese model, like that included by the Genoese Juan Servino in his daughter's dowry in Seville in 1648, described as a "*cama entera de granadillo com sus barandillas altas, toda ella guarnecida com bronce sobredorado*" (bed made entirely of *granadillo* with high headboard railing and all garnished in gilt bronze) with crimson damask hangings adorned with gold braid,[68] or that belonging to the renowned Sevillian painter Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617-1682), a "*cama de granadillo bronceada de barandillas*" (bronzed *granadillo* bed with headboard railing).[69]

Some of these examples were chest-beds (*camas de arcas de caminho*), i.e. travel beds, with posts and in some cases a headboard which were mounted on the chests they were stored in to create the bedstead. One such example is the new *granadillo* bed with gilt bronze that belonged to the ducal house of Arcos in 1656, which was housed in the Palace of Marchena (Seville), and was also described as a bronzed *pau-santo* campaign bed that was mounted on two Muscovy leather-lined chests.[70] Another example is the chest-bed, also listed as a *catre*, made of bronzed *pau-santo* which, like the former, could be packed into two chests and is listed in the 1717 inventory held

after the death of Ana Rosalía de la Cueva, daughter of the 8th Duke of Albuquerque, 22nd Viceroy of New Spain, and Marquise of Cadereyta.[71]

Like the Portuguese model, the headboards of the bronzed beds could be formed by one or more rows of balusters, such as the "*cama de ebano de portugal bronzeada con una cavezera*" (bronzed bed made of ebony from Portugal with a headboard) and the "*cama de granadillo con tres cavezeras bronzeadas con su colgadura de grana y alamar de oro*" (*granadillo* bed with three bronzed headboards and escarlate hangings with gold passementerie) belonging to the Spanish scribe Juan Rodriguez de Mercado, listed in the inventory of his assets in 1673.[72] In fact, and unlike contemporary Portuguese inventories and other sources, the descriptions here are more detailed, especially as regards the number of tiers comprising the headboards. This allowed Aguiló Alonso to study the evolution of the headboard through the 17th century and to note that it reached three or four tiers [fig. 6] in the last third of the century,[73] possibly evolving in an identical fashion to the Portuguese bed, which would imply that the Cadaval bed dates from the mid-17th century.

The Portuguese model became so popular that it began to be made in Spain and the Spanish West Indies from an early date, definitely from the 1650s or even earlier, undoubtedly helped by the ban on trade with Portugal. In Spain, therefore, the 1654 *ordenanzas* (regulations) for the woodturning craft already mention, among other products of the trade, the "*camas de madera das Indias que se hacen com piezas de bronce*" (beds made of wood from the Indies and bronze pieces),[74] which suggests they were being made at least towards the end of the previous decade. In fact, in 1651, the Jesuit missionary Bernabé Cobo refers to their manufacture in Mexico when he discusses the trees and uses of the respective types of wood in *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*[75]. He confirms the exceptional qualities of ebony, declaring it the most precious of known woods. In this he includes both the ebony from East India and that from many parts of the Americas, the latter used for the same purposes as the former despite being less dark due to lighter striping. Among the types of wood used for turning, namely for the balusters, the Jesuit highlights cocobolo (which he calls *cocobola*), possibly a species from the Dalbergia family (*dalbergia retusa*?) which, as he says, grew along the coast of New Spain and was highly valued because it was very hard, dark and veined. He also adds that *granadillo,* also from New Spain and



[fig. 6]
Bed
Portugal or Spain, 17th century (second half).
Pau-santo wood, bronze, brass and gilt iron.
Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas, Madrid
CE02059

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Courtesy of the museum

elsewhere, and also just as hard, heavy and dark red in colour, was no less valued. Cobo tells us that all lathework in this wood was eye-catchingly beautiful, taking the beds garnished with gilt bronze made in Mexico, which were of great value and highly cherished wherever they went, as an example.[76] Hence their inclusion among the items brought back to Spain by those returning from the West Indies, such as a "*cama entera de granadillo guarneçida de bronze*" (*granadillo* wood bed garnished with bronze) from Mexico City listed in the 1655 inventory of the assets of the licentiate Francisco de Sober y Quiroga, who died in 1654 aboard the galleon *Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso*.[77]

A letter dated 1653, in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, sent to André Lopes Dias by Juan Capillas Escobar with an order to buy a bed in Lisbon made of *granadillo,* or any other wood, with gilt bronze finials reveals a great deal about the demand for these objects and, of course, their manufacture in Portugal, to the extent that Escobar was willing to pay any price.[78] The reference to *granadillo*, a wood which, it should be noted, María Paz Aguiló Alonso mentions was used to make Portuguese-style beds that were frequently garnished with pierced brass plates and rings in Seville[79] and Mexico, should be understood not only as an indication of the object *per se*, i.e. a Portuguese *bronzeado* bed, but also of the general production of beds in this wood, which was known as "*granadillo de Portugal*" (*granadillo* from Portugal). Despite the ban on trade with the kingdom of Portugal, this and other manufactured goods were smuggled into Spain, compelling the monarchs to issue continuous prohibitions on all contacts and trade with Portugal, its colonial conquests and Portuguese East India. Five years before Portugal and Spain signed a peace treaty, a new decree in 1663 – essentially aimed at preventing fraud among the goods commonly traded from the East Indies by the States General of the United Provinces and the kingdom of Portugal and its conquests – included a long list of goods from Portugal and India, among which wood like ebony, *pau-santo* and *granadillo*, as well as manufactured goods like garnished beds and *catres*.[80] This confirms the continued illegal trade in esteemed Portuguese beds, as well as the types of wood arriving in Lisbon from Asia, Africa and the Americas used to make this furniture.

Later, when this trade resumed, these two types of Portuguese turned beds, which appear to have coexisted in the late 17th century and first half of the 18th, featured among the furniture shipped from the Douro in 1681-1713 to the ports of Galicia en route to Pontevedra, Vigo, Arouce, Coruña, Padrón, Marin, Vila García, Carril and elsewhere, along with various type of wood like *pau-preto* and jacaranda. However, the very small number of bronzed *catres* confirms the disappearance of this type of garnishing and, almost certainly, of this type of model, as almost none of the beds were decorated with gilt brass: smooth *catres*, ungarnished *pau-preto* beds, *pau de jacarandá* beds, etc. This would suggest they were turned and of the type known as *cama de bilros*.[81]

The regard with which Portuguese or Portuguese-inspired turned wood beds garnished with gilt brass were held, and the value attributed to them, is proven by the fact that in Spain they featured in dowries and were even included in majorats,[82] along with valuable pieces of gold or gilt silver, relics, jewellery and other sumptuary goods intended to ensure descendants the splendour their status, quality and nobility deserved. Examples of this include a sumptuous bed and respective furnishings described as a "*cama entera de granadillo com sus barandillas altas, toda ella guarnecida com bronce sobredorada*" (*granadillo* wood bed with high headboard railing all garnished with gilt bronze), with crimson damask hangings and gold passementerie, added by the Genoese Juan Servino to his daughter's dowry in Seville in 1648;[83] the "*cama de granadillo bronceada com 4 barandillas*" (bronzed *granadilllo* bed with 4 headboard railing) valued at 2500 *reales* included in the dowry of Gregoria de Iriarte in 1673;[84] and a "*cama de granadillo de Portugal bronceado*" (bronzed bed made of *granadillo* from Portugal) with Chinese crimson damask hangings embroidered with gold and silk with blue passementerie, lined with Chinese celestial taffeta, and with lower valances of the same fabric, entailed in 1684 to the Bengolea majorat, together with another "*cama de granadillo de Portugal sobre dorado de bronce*" (bed made of *granadillo* from Portugal with bronze gilding) with its respective hangings and also a small gilt Chinese bed with inlays, among other objects. The examples include other beds which remained in the Spanish West Indies, such as the "*cama de granadillo, bronceada, com dos cuerpos la cabecera*" (bronzed *granadillo* bed with two headboard railings) included, with other goods, in the majorat of Cortés del Rey in 1729.[85]

They also featured, of course, in the dowries of the grand Spanish ducal houses, such as the *pau-santo* bed garnished with bronze, valued at three thousand *reales,* included in the vast set of objects given by Antonia de Sandoval y Afán de Ribera, Dowager Marquise of Cadereyta, to her daughter, Joana, on her wedding in 1645 to the 8th Duke of Albuquerque, Francisco Fernández de la Cueva y Enríquez de Cabrera.[86] This was a valuable specimen, as a Namban bed, described as a "*cama que se compone de cuatro pilares y una cabecera sin lecho hecha en el Japón folleteada de taller dorada sobre verde*" (bed consisting of four posts and a headboard without a bedstead made in Japan and decorated with gilding over green), was valued at only half that figure: one thousand five hundred *reales*.[87]

They also appear among the furniture in the Spanish royal household, namely among the *pau-santo* assets of Queen Isabel de Bourbon,[88] and among those of King Carlos II at a later date. Included in the 1701-1703 inventory of objects belonging to the Spanish king[89] are examples of the highly prized Portuguese or Portuguese-style beds, i.e. made according to the Portuguese model with species of wood "from Portugal": a bed made of "ébano de Portugal, [de duas cabeceiras] *com sus punttas por la alta, Y en ttodas ellas Manzanillas torneadas y brongeadas, que dichos Bronzes son ttorneados de oja Con azogue con sus quattro Manzanillas o remattes también torneados Y bronzeados, su lecho de Caoba, tornillos dorados Uarillas de yerro Y de pino tasada en Cinco mili y quinienttos Reales de Vellón que Hagen Nouentta y Un doblones y quarentta reales de Vellón 91,40*" (ebony from Portugal with two headboards railing with pinnacles on the top and all of them turned and bronzed, said bronze decorated with leaf using mercury, with four *manzanillas* or finials also turned and bronzed, its bed base made of *caoba* wood, gilded screws, iron and pine rods, valued at ...);[90] a "*Madera de Cama de ébano de Porttugal torneada Y bronzes de Vna Cauezera Con diez Y ocho manzanillas, las Cattorze de la Cauezera Y las quatro de los pilares el Lecho Y Uarillas de Caoba 91,40*" (turned bed made of ebony from Portugal with a bronzed headboard of 18 *manzanillas* or finials, 14 on the headboard and 4 on the posts, its bed base and curtain rods made of *caoba* 91.40); [91] and "*Una madera de cama de palo santto y bronzes que todo sirue a Don Lucas Jordán*" (a *pau-santo* bed and bronze adornments used by [the painter] Don Lucas Jordán).[92] Some had Solomonic turned columns and calfskin-lined headboards, without doubt an evolution of the Portuguese model, such as the two *pau-santo* beds "*de echura salomónica Y piezas de bronze doradas y Unas Jarras para arriua la madera de dicho Palo Santo estriada Con Zinco piezas de bronge Cada Vna, y Un ramo de flores de dicho Bronze dorado y las Cauezeras forradas de Uaqueta*" (with Solomonic turned wood elements and pieces of gilt bronze and vases for finials, each piece of striated *pau-santo* wood is garnished with five pieces of bronze, and a bouquet of flowers in gilt bronze and the headboards lined with calfskin).[93] Some of the beds then inventoried are proven to have been made in Seville, such as a bronzed *pau-santo* bed with four headboards valued at 1,200 *reales* and a bronzed *pau-santo* bed valued at 1,300 *reales*.[94] Other beds were made in Portugal, such as the Solomonic *pau-ferro catre* valued at 800 *reales*.[95]

This taste for Portuguese, or Portuguese-style, beds along with wood imported by the Portuguese to Lisbon on ships sailing from Brazil or India continued in the first half of the 18th century. They featured in inventories and even in dowries from this period, such as the "*cama de palo santo de Portugal, torneada, con sus bronzes y barillas correspondientes para la colgadura*" (turned bed made of *pau-santo* from Portugal with bronze adornments and curtain rods to attach the hangings) valued at 360 *reales* and brought as a dowry by King Felipe V's secretary, Manuel Bernardo Álvarez de Toledo Lobato, on his second marriage in 1744.[96]

The "ebony" and silver beds: luxurious furniture, status symbols and diplomatic gifts

Bearing in mind that among furniture beds were the highest expression of the social status and wealth of their owners – above all in terms of the furnishings of expensive hangings that could far exceed the cost of the bed frame itself – it is no surprise that Portuguese turned beds decorated with silver or with bronze and silver, such as that studied here, along with examples with "bronze" decoration, would feature among the main sumptuary investments of the great titular houses or even among the ostentatious gifts that were strategically distributed to the main foreign powers as a consequence of Portugal's enormous diplomatic effort to legitimise the new dynasty. The first report of a bed with silver decoration, belonging significantly to the royal household, appears precisely in this context. When Álvaro Pires de Castro, Marquis of Cascais, was sent to France as João IV's ambassador extraordinary to present his condolences to the regent, Queen Anne of Austria, on the death of Louis XIII in May 1643, the pomp of his entrance into Paris in 1644 caused a huge stir, creating in the Parisian court the legend that the Braganças possessed enormous hidden wealth. He took with him many sets of silk and gold hangings, a huge quantity of silver and other precious objects, luxurious garments and valuable jewellery from his Monsanto House estate,[97] alongside valuable items sent by João IV,[98] intended to regale various court figures and, of course, to affirm the wealth and power of the Brigantine Dynasty and its largesse. Among the gifts that defined the success of this embassy was a bed made of *pau-preto*, also referred to as "*pau de Moçambique*", fully garnished with silver

adornments and red furnishings made of *ló de ouro* (gauze fabric with added gold) that was delivered to the marquis in 1643 by order of João IV.[99] This piece was not specifically made for the occasion, seeing as the silver had been cleaned and new pieces executed to replace those missing,[100] which, supposing that it was a turned bed, confirms that these silver-garnished beds were made at the start of the 1640s, or even earlier. The piece was offered by the ambassador to the regent, later described among her assets as "*una gran cama de* ébano*, decorada com pan de plata, guarnecida de tafetá de oro de China*" (a large ebony bed decorated with silver sheet and garnished with Chinese gold taffeta),[101] i.e. once again ebony corresponds to *pau-preto* or *pau de Moçambique*, the wood from which the Cadaval bed is made. At the Palace of the Louvre, Queen Anne of Austria also had a "*armadura de cama de madera de* Índia *labrada, decorada con cobre bermejo dorado con los cuatro pomos similares, el respaldo con balaustrada decorada con veinte pequeñas figuras de plata*" (Indian wood bed frame decorated with gilt red copper with four similar bouquets and a headboard with balustrade decorated with twenty small silver figures).[102] In other words, it was a Portuguese bed, for it was described in the general inventory conducted in 1663-1715, during the reign of Louis XIV, as a bed made in Portugal from Brazilian wood, decorated with various gilt copper ornaments, twenty small silver figures on the headboard – elements also seen on the headboards of some documented Portuguese beds – and four large bouquet finials.[103]

It has been suggested that the manufacture of furniture made of silver or lined with silver sheet and other silver elements, which was so in fashion in European courts in the second half of the 1600s, began in Spain in the 16th century, above all during the reign of Felipe II (1556-1598) who is known to have owned a silver bed,[104] and that the Spanish *infanta* Anne of Austria (1601-1666) contributed to its popularity in France in the mid-1600s.[105] In 1615, when she married Louis XIII, she took several pieces of silver furniture with her, namely a dressing table mirror, a brazier and two tables, the latter two the most common types of Spanish silver furniture. In fact, Louis XIV was famed for his legendary, albeit short-lived, silver furniture, which was melted down in 1689.[106] Therefore, some of the silver-decorated furniture in the French court, such as the two aforementioned beds, was of Portuguese origin. Consequently, as Cruz Valdovinos observed that this fact did not entirely explain what ignited this taste for silver furniture in the

French court, the presence of Portuguese furniture, or at least of silver-garnished beds, should be taken into consideration alongside other factors.

Manufacture spread to the whole of Europe, and the city of Augsburg at this time became a major production centre for furniture covered with silver, on which only the shields and small sculptures were made of solid silver.[107] Various European-made examples reached Portugal, such as those which adorned the Palace of Ribeira during the reign of King João V. These were imported from Augsburg or brought from England, as mentioned by Frei Manuel Baptista de Castro: one of the rooms was "*armada toda de brocado encarnado, e tambem o pavimento he cuberto do mesmo brocado, tudo guarnecido de passamanes de ouro, com huns grandes cordoens e bolas de ouro, por que pendem nas paredes placas de prata de obra da Alemanha. Nas duas paredes fronteyras lhe serve de adorno dois espelhos, e dois bufetes, cada hum com sua fonte, tudo de prata, aberto ao Buril com folhagens, e mais debuxos de obra moderna, feytos em Inglaterra, os quaes trouxe a Rainha da Grãa Bretanha D. Catharina*".[108] For King Pedro II's second wedding in 1687, the Count of Vilar Maior, his ambassador extraordinary to the court of Bavaria, received various examples of this fashionable silver furniture from the Elector Palatine: a silver table, six sconces, two stands, a six-branch candelabrum and two flower vases, all in white silver,[109] forming a customary set intended to decorate an apartment. [fig. 7, 8]

With regard to the beds decorated with silver, records document their existence in the Spanish royal household[110] and also their use in the complex royal ceremonies. An example of this is the bed which in October 1621 was being made for Isabel of Bourbon (Queen Consort of Spain, 1621-1644) by her silversmith from Madrid, Diego de Zabalza, and intended for use for the occasion of the birth of her first son that same year – and probably for those that followed in later years[111] – namely Felipe IV's unfortunate heir, the *infante* Baltasar Carlos (1629-1646). The piece, of which a detailed description exists, had four posts with square capitals and pedestals and a headboard formed by balusters with silver globe finials and under the arches a silver acorn, the dais ringed by a railing of balusters also decorated with silver pieces, namely globe finials, cartouches and fleurs-de-lis.[112] In 1635, the bed with the dais and textiles, comprising crimson velvet furnishings



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[fig. 7]

Table, mirror and candelabra stands (pair)

England (?), table and mirror, c. 1670.
Netherlands (?), candelabra stands, c. 1670.
Silver (table, mirror and candelabra stands).
Oak (table) and pine (mirror).
Monogram: crowned CC.

RCIN 35299
RCIN 35300
RCIN 35298

Image courtesy of The Royal Collection Trust



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[fig. 8]

Table

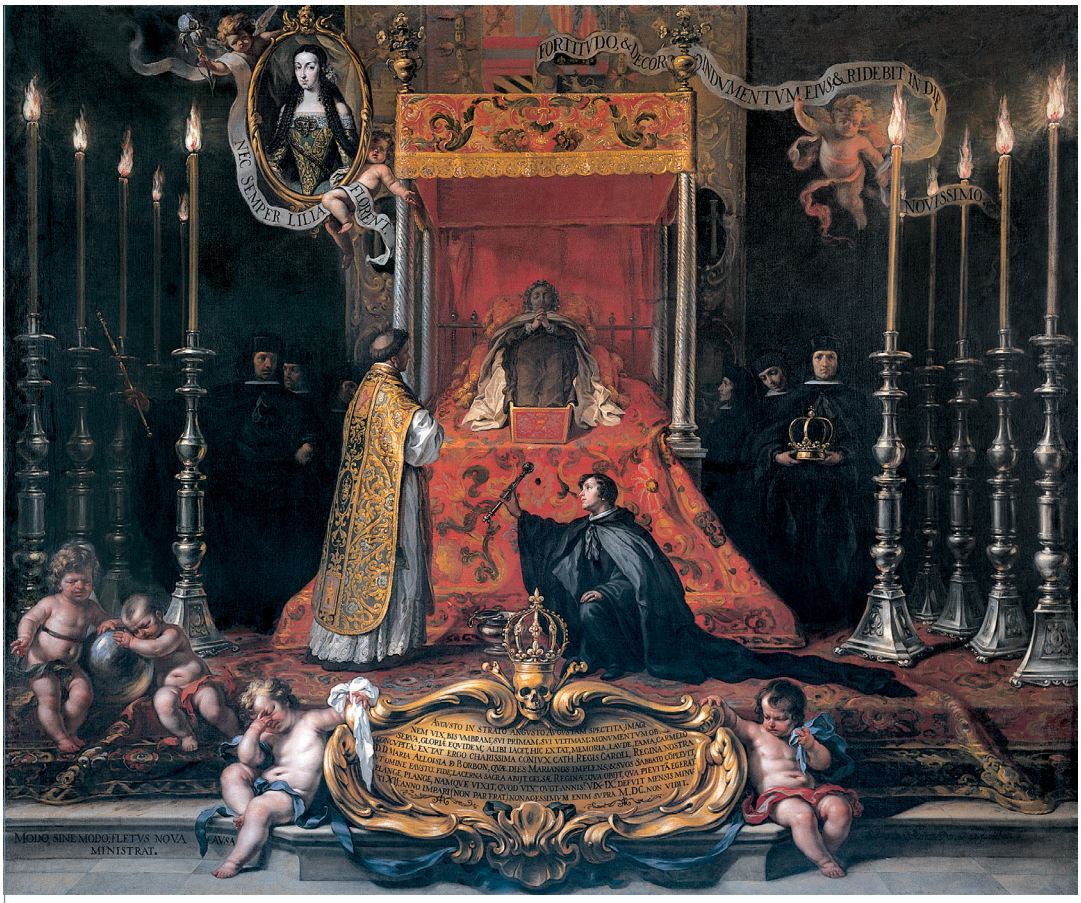
Andrew Moore, London, 1699.
Silver, oak and pine.
Coat of arms and motto of William III.
Height 85 x Width 122 x Depth 75.5.

Windsor Castle
RCIN 35301

Image courtesy of The Royal Collection Trust

lined with the same colour of taffeta, a crimson velvet counterpane and a tablecloth that covered the top and four sides down to the floor and was fastened at the corners with passementerie, were given by Queen Isabel of Bourbon to Santiago Cathedral as a gift to the patron saint of the realm.[113] In doing so, she was following in the footsteps of Queen Margaret of Austria (Queen Consort of Spain, 1599-1611), wife of Felipe III, who had given the bed used for the birth of the future King Felipe IV (1605-1665) to the Monastery of La Encarnación in Madrid.

In 1644, among the assets inventoried and valued after the death of Queen Isabel of Bourbon were two ebony beds garnished with silver: "*una grande de ébano de Portugal embutida de plata branca*" (a large bed made of ebony from Portugal with inlaid white silver) valued at twenty thousand *reales* and another "*grande de tejadillo com quatro pilares y dos cabeceros de ébano perfilados de plata e embutidos de piedras cornerinas, ágatas y lápis lazuli*" (large one with a canopy with four posts and two ebony headboards outlined with silver and inlaid with carnelian, agate and lapis lazuli).[114] It is known, in fact, that Felipe IV and Isabel of Boubon had two silver and ebony beds with the royal arms on the headboard in the Palace of Bom Retiro.[115] It would also be on a silver bed on a dais in the grand hall that the body of Felipe IV would later be displayed during his funeral ceremonies,[116] just as it had also been on a "*cama de brocado de seda y maderas de ébano com molduras y encages de plata, com planchas doradas, com los escudos de armas de España, Flandres, Cerdeña y las Dos Sicilias, debajo de un dociel tambien de brocade*" (ebony bed with silk brocade hangings and silver mouldings and adornments including gilt plates and the coat of arms of Spain, Flanders, Sardinia and the Two Sicilies under a brocade canopy)[117] that Queen Margaret died in the Monastery of El Escorial in 1611 and the body of Queen Marie Louise d'Orléans was displayed in the Golden Hall of the Madrid Royal Alcázar in 1689 [fig. 9]. With regard to the Spanish nobility, from what we know, few possessed ebony and silver beds like these. Records exist of an ebony, ivory and silver bed belonging to the Count of Monterrey[118] and another one made of wood covered with silver and the coat of arms of Velasco e de Gusmão belonging to the *Condestável* of Castile, Juan Fernández de Velasco, inventoried at the time of his death in 1613.[119]



[fig. 9]

Marie Louise of Orléans, Queen of Spain, lying in state at the Royal Alcázar of Madrid, 1689

Sebastián Muñoz, 1689-1690, oil on canvas.

The Hispanic Society Museum & Library
Accession Number: A64

© The Hispanic Society of America, New York | Courtesy of the museum

As sumptuous items of furniture, these ebony and silver beds were also used as court gifts, as occurred among the women of the House of Austria. For example, Empress Leonor Gonzaga, the second wife of Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria, gave Queen Isabel of Bourbon a valuable set of silver furniture and pieces of silverware at the beginning of 1624 to congratulate her on the birth of the *infanta* Margarita María Catalina in November 1623. These gifts included an ebony cot garnished with gilt silver figures and rosettes with two identically rendered legs, four ebony and silver posts to support the cot's damask canopy, an ebony and silver bed, and an ebony and silver bathtub.[120] Around the same time, in March 1624, and for the same purpose, the Grand Duke of Tuscany sent the queen a wooden

bed with its respective furnishings[121] via her ambassador to the Madrid court. Both examples confirm that beds were also deemed important and cherished luxury goods as well as their valuable furnishings and as such were offered as gifts.

In Portugal, the custom of using silver to decorate furniture is also documented in the 16th century and continued into the 17th century, such as the silver tables and silver-decorated beds made in 1666 for the aforementioned wedding of King Afonso VI (1643-1683) to Marie Françoise de Savoie (1646-1683). In fact, the notes and lists of the secretary of the House of Bragança, António Cavide, overseer of royal works and supervisor of the new decorations for the royal apartments in Quinta de Alcântara – where the royal couple stayed for almost an entire month – and the Palace of Ribeira[122] reveal the orders for new furniture, such as silver furniture and turned beds garnished with gilt bronze or silver, and the craftsmen involved in making them.

Included in these notes and lists are pieces of furniture in silver or precious wood with silver or gilt metal mounts, chairs upholstered in different brocades, *telas* and velvet of different colours, Italian-made tables with inlaid marble tops, silver mirrors with gold garnishing from the queen's dressing room and vast and luxurious textile decorations enriched with gold and silver for the new design of the two palaces. And, of course, Portuguese beds, described as "*de Evano, todo guarneçido de prata branca, e dourada*" (of ebony, all garnished with white silver and gilded), "*de Evano, guarneçido todo de prata branca*" (of ebony, all garnished with white silver), "*de Evano, com chaparia de bronze de relevo dourada e todas as mais pessas delle*" (of ebony, with gilt bronze plates in relief and all the other pieces) and "*de violete, com bronzes dourados, e troçidos*" (of *pau violeta* wood with gilt bronze and spiral turning).[123] One of these "ebony" examples stood in the queen's bedchamber and was furnished with crimson velvet hangings, three mattresses, four bolsters and four small crimson damask cushions, a gold fringed counterpane and a rich Indian coverlet "*de montaria fina e rica*" (with hunting scenes). Completing the decoration were two small bedside tables upholstered in *tela de primavera* (a type of light silk fabric), three gold-fringed crimson velvet cushions with blue camlet taffeta "*guarda pó*" (dust covers) with gold lacing, a chair upholstered in crimson velvet with gold fringing, a silver table with gold

garnishing, another *pau-preto* table with turned legs covered with crimson velvet cloth with gold tassels and fringing and a "*guarda pó de tafetá carmesim com rendinha de ouro*" (crimson taffeta dust cover with gold lacing).[124]

Both silver-garnished beds – white silver in one case, white and gilded silver in the other, like the bed under analysis – are described as being made of ebony or, rather, a wood described as such. One of these nuptial beds in the Queen's service was later identified as being made of *pau-preto* with bronze and silver adornments and *ló* furnishings of gold and green.[125] The records also mention the ebony bed "*guarnecido de Bronze dourado e a grade com seus relevodos levantados*" (garnished with gilt bronze and a railing with raised reliefs) whose delivery to João Francisco Pereira in April 1667 was recorded by António Cavide.[126] Various cabinetmakers were involved in this campaign, namely António de Faria Reimão, João Ribeiro and Miguel Delgado, who would certainly have worked on the beds and other furniture for the royal wedding.

The lack of inventories for the palaces and documentary records about daily palace life prevents us from identifying how these beds were used with total accuracy. However, the available written and iconographic sources indicate that these sumptuous silver-decorated objects were luxury pieces of furniture used on specific ceremonial occasions as attributes of power, wealth and status. These occasions included times of celebration and consternation, such as weddings, births, baptisms and exequies, which were defining moments in the continuity of dynasties and the lineages of the ruling or noble houses. So valued were they, in fact, that they were included in the customary investment in sumptuary goods made by the royal household and powerful noble houses and were even associated with the majorat (entail), such as the bed studied here, whose garnishing (bouquets and cypresses) belonged to the silver entailed to the House of the Dukes of Cadaval. Hence the sumptuous and valuable "ebony" beds garnished with silver were included among the possessions made, or used, for these important celebrations, as with the marriage of King Afonso VI to Marie Françoise de Savoie in 1666 and King Pedro II to Marie Sophie of Neuburg in 1687. The description of the royal chambers prepared in the palace in 1687 reveal the use of this type of bed as an object which, along with others,[127] helped to construct the royal image. A fortune was spent on the royal

wedding on jewellery, both for the new queen and for gifts, rather than on palace decoration. Various silver objects were acquired for the new queen's table service and an enormous number of dresses for those participating in the festivities, namely the bullfights and dances. This is recorded in the *Memoria de Francisco Carvalho do que se comprou para o segundo cazamento de ElRey, anno de 1687*,[128] a document housed among the countless Portuguese manuscripts in the National Library of France which once belonged to the 1st Duke of Cadaval, Nuno Álvares Pereira de Melo,[129] who held the important position of lord chamberlain to the queens Marie Françoise, Marie Sophie and Maria Anna of Austria.

For the wedding, Francisco de Carvalho ordered gold and silver dresses from Turin and Lyon.[130] For the palace, he acquired two Chinese screens for 557,000 *réis* from António Pais de Sande, previously the Governor of India and member of the Overseas Council (Conselho Ultramarino), an automaton described as "*um pavão da China que andava dando-lhe corda*" (a Chinese peacock that walked by pulling a cord) for 120,000 *réis* from João de Carcome Lobo, captain of the Portuguese East Indiaman *São Francisco Xavier*,[131] as well as a white bedspread for 44,000 *réis*, two lacquer cabinets for 270,000 *réis* from António de Sande e Castro, another two for the same amount from António Agostinho Ribeiro and two lacquer *ventós* from Father Pedro de Mariz for 150,000 *réis*[132] containing various things from India, such as several bezoars, two of which from porcupines.[133]

Part of the silver was commissioned in Augsburg, then a major production centre of silver furniture in particular. According to the list, these items included six wall sconces, a gilt fountain, two ewers with foliage, one large ewer, a dolphin salver, a sumptuous salt cellar, two large plates and a large gilt cup.[134] Also bought were flat plates and travel cutlery, a crimson velvet flask case to hold bottles of scented water with silver sheet bearing the royal arms and, finally, valuable jewellery for gifts at a price of over 55,000 *réis*,[135] alongside more jewellery acquired for the queen.

In addition to the white bedspread, also bought was a white bedspread displaying the royal lineage for 100,000 *réis*,[136] whose iconography suggests it was intended for one of the beds in the two chambers purposefully decorated for the wedding.

The remaining textiles, such as the fine pieces of *ló*, five green and five white, were acquired from Manuel Pereira de Brito and the gold satin for the counterpane on the beds was bought from Simão Nobel.[137] With regard to the decoration of the apartments in the palace, Francisco de Carvalho states that the two chambers facing the terrace received crimson satin valances and curtains with gold and silver flowers and two matching upholstered cushions, two small tables and a large mirror in each. In the room that was intended for use as a chamber was mounted a "*leito rico guarnecido de prata com o seu aparemento*" (rich silver-garnished bed and its furnishings)[138] with gold fringing and a matching counterpane and a gold satin cloth to cover the bed. This cloth, according to the memoir, would be used to cover the royal baptismal font. Everything would indicate that the silver-garnished bed was not commissioned for this occasion, perhaps being one of those made years earlier for the wedding of King Afonso VI to Marie Françoise de Savoie. In the small room above it, which was dressed with green curtains and upper valances, stood a new ebony bed without silver or gold decoration and with green *ló* furnishings. As asserted by the author of the memoir, Francisco de Carvalho, the jewel-house keeper in the Royal service, it would have been this bed and not the sumptuous one that was used for the wedding, indicating that the former apartment was merely used for representative purposes, i.e. as a state bed chamber.

To date, therefore, records merely confirm the use of these sumptuous ebony and silver beds with columns supporting valuable furnishings in arrangements mounted for specific ceremonies, such as the royal wedding of 1687, but not for permanent use. In other words, there is no mention of their use in a state bed chamber integrated into daily palace life and in which they would act as a representative symbol of the monarchy, or in the apartment where the king or queen actually slept. It has been suggested that the Portuguese court did not adopt the French practice, also followed by the English court, of having a state apartment with a bedchamber containing a state bed for use as the quintessential formal reception room, alongside a smaller apartment with a chamber, or alcove, where the monarchs slept. Thus, in the Portuguese court the antechambers, known customarily as the "*1ª e a 2ª sala do dossel*" (1st and 2nd canopy rooms), of both the king and queen, were used for receiving. The Portuguese monarchs therefore merely had a bedchamber, unlike their French and English counterparts of the time[139] [figs. 10, 11, 12], but even so these more private rooms could still be accessed by some.



© RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles) | Cortesy of the Palace

[fig. 10]

Detail from Cardinal Flavio Chigi's audience with Louis XIV at Fontainebleau on 29 July 1664

Tapestry belonging to the series "History of the King", 1665-1680.
Manufacture des Gobelins.

Pope Alexander VII's niece and emissary received by Louis XIV in the *chambre du Roi* of the Palace of Fontainebleau.
The *lit d'apparat* can be seen to the left of the king.

Châteaux de Versailles



[fig. 11]

Detail from La Bénédiction du ciel sur la postérité de Louis Le Grand.

Engraving from the *Almanach pour l'an de grâce M.DCCV*.
Paris, 1705 (print).

In the background, Princess Marie Adélaide de Savoie, Duchess of Burgundy, lies in the state bed in a chamber in the Palace of Versailles. In the foreground, her new-born son is presented to Louis XIV, King of France, her great-grandfather, surrounded by senior members of the royal family and court.

Private collection



[fig. 12]
State bed
Engraving of *Second Livre d'Appartements*
Daniel Marot, ca. 1702

Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum.
Accession Number 1988-4-53.
Museum purchase from General Acquisitions Endowment Fund.

© Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum
Courtesy of the museum

Bearing in mind the above, this is a question that deserves further study given that it was also a practice followed by ambassadors. Thus, in 1676, the Portuguese ambassador to Rome, Luís de Sousa, had a "state bed" in the Palazzo Poli described as being "*Ébano com engastes de prata obra de folhage os remates das grades e dos balaustres levão ramalhetes do mesmo*" (Ebony with silver foliage and silver bouquet finials on the headboard railings and balusters [posts]). He also had "*uma alcova ao nosso uso*" (an alcove according to our custom) with a bed "*em que repoza, de pao preto, feito à moderna, dos que se uzam hoje em Portugal*" (of *pau-preto*, in the modern style used today in Portugal, where he rests).[140] Complementing the bed's ostentation were the blue furnishings with red "*guardaventos*" (curtains) and gold braid, the crimson damask lining the chamber and the turned wooden chairs, whose presence suggests it was a sumptuous room for receiving.

In fact, as Carlos Franco notes, the "*casa da cama de estado*" (state bed chamber) also appeared in the 18th and 19th century in the homes of the capital's elites as a formal reception room where the state bed stood. In 1873, this type of bed was identified in the *Thesouro da Língua Portugueza* as follows: "*cama d'estado, cama muito ricamente ornada que se tem só por apparato, pois não se dorme n'ella*" (a highly ornate bed whose function is purely decorative, for it is not slept in)[141] and is invariably accompanied by various types of seat.[142] Almost a century before, in 1787, this type of bed was identified in the *Diccionario Castellano con las Voces de Ciencias y Artes*: "*Lecho de respeto, aquel que no sirve por lo comun para dormir, sino para ostentacion, y tambien para exponer al público el cadáver de algun Príncipe*" (*Lit de parade*; a bed that was not used for sleeping in but for purposes of ostentation, and also for the lying-in-state of members of the royalty).[143] There is a record, from 1795, for example, of a *casa da cama de estado* in the palace recently built by Jacinto Fernandes Bandeira in Rua de São Domingos, noticeably for the festivities held to mark the birth of Maria Teresa de Bragança (1793), the first daughter of the prince regent and future King João VI and Carlota Joaquina, *infanta* of Spain. Described as the "*sala da cama de Estado*", it stood on the *piano nobile* where the ballroom and music room, squire room and library were located.[144] In addition to two *canapés*, various chairs and two tables, the state bed chamber had an imperial bed "*com pavilhão e cortinas de seda de matiz de ouro e prata*" (with a gold and silver-embroidered silk pavilion and curtains).[145]

The use of "*camas de estado*" and "ebony" and silver beds is also documented in royal baptisms. Therefore, for the baptism of the *infante* Pedro de Bragança (the future King Pedro II) on 27 May 1648, various rooms in the Palace of Ribeira were dressed, namely the gallery "*que cae sobre o terreiro do paço*" (overlooking the palace square) beside the queen's chamber, various chambers, the Tudescos room and the stairs linking it to the chapel. Placed in one of the chambers was a state bed, "*a mais rica que ouver*" (the richest bed that existed).[146] In the church nave, where the royal curtain was placed, but beneath the arch, stood a sumptuous non-wooden bed on a rich carpet intended for the *infante's* wet nurse.[147]

On 2 March 1669, an ebony and ivory *camilha* (little bed) covered with ribbons and silver filigree flowers was used for the baptism of the daughter of King Pedro II and Queen Marie Françoise de Savoie, an event described in detail by Diego Enríquez de

Villegas. The *infanta's camilha* was placed in a chamber dressed with rich *telas* from Milan; in the centre of the chancel stood a dais with four tall hexagonal-shaped ebony pillars in the middle covered with sheets of silver supporting blue *tela*[148] curtains that enclosed the space, at the centre of which was the silver baptismal font. On the right was an ebony bed with turned posts; it was decorated with sheets of "*filigrana vazada*" (pierced filigree) and had a headboard of "*retorcido*" (twisted) pillars and balusters decorated with small mirrors in silver frames with imperial crowns and "*preciosas pedras*" (precious stones) mounted in silver flowers, fruits, borders and ribbons.[149] He also admired the excellent quality of the wood and the skill and artistic quality of the turning, affirming that this alone sufficed to make the work of estimable quality, also praising the use of sheets of "*filigrana vazada*" (pierced filigree) silver which made the ebony gleam. In other words, it exhibited some of the chief characteristics of Portuguese furniture that were observed on turned beds both decorated with gilt brass and with silver.

According to a document cited by Silva Nascimento, at the baptism of the future King João V on 19 November 1689, a bed was also used that he describes by quoting an extract from a manuscript belonging to the Viscount of Lagoa: "*e debaixo do arco ficavam levantados quatro Balaústres de Pão de Evano retrosidos todos cobertos de folhagens de prata em que estava hua rica cama de tella repaçada de ouro e azul com sabastos em roda e sanefas de outra tela mais levantada*" (and beneath the arch arose four twisted ebony balusters fully covered in silver foliage upon which was a sumptuous bed of gold and blue fabric with orphrey edging and valances in another more raised fabric).[150] In fact, this description recalls the four ebony and silver columns supporting the canopy of the ebony cot garnished with gilt silver figures and rosettes given by Empress Eleonora Gonzaga to Queen Isabel of Bourbon in 1624, as mentioned. Once again, the Portuguese documents in the funds of the National Library of France help to clarify what was used in this important celebration and to recreate the decoration of the palace and the chapel, confirming the huge importance of the textile garnish in the decoration of the chambers through which those attending passed as dictated by Baroque tradition. Of note amongst these are various treasures belonging to the House of Bragança, namely a series of tapestries including the Tobias panels and the panels belonging to the

Condestável Nuno Álvares Pereira.[151] Therefore, in the royal chapel, where the royal curtain was customarily placed when the king attended mass, but "*mais para dentro do arco que fique livre todo o pavimento das grades para dentro se ha de armar huma cama muyto rica sem madeyra*" (further back under the arch so all the floor behind the railings can be used to mount a very ornate non-wooden bed), the floor was covered with a very good carpet, a table and cushions for the ama to sit on and, from the railings inwards, a wooden floor at the height of the steps of the high altar was covered with the finest carpets. Like the baptism of 1669, a dais was erected in the middle of the chancel, in the middle of which rose four ebony balusters covered with silver sheet and with silver bouquet finials supporting a canopy; this is where the silver baptismal font was placed.[152] The sumptuous bed was beneath the arch, on the Gospel side, where four balusters had been erected made of "*pau de hevano retrosidos todos cubertos de folhages de prata em que estava huma riqua cama de tella repassada de oyro e azul com sabastos em roda e sanefas de outra tella mais levantada tudo com penachos de oyro e grandes framgois de oyro … e por ramate dos ballaustres quatro ramalhetes de prata que também os tinha os remates dos ballaustres da pia com quatro feguras em sima de prata*" (twisted ebony all covered in silver foliage on which stood a sumptuous bed with gold and blue *tela* hangings with orphreys and upper valances in another more raised *tela* all with gold panaches and large gold fringes … and four silver bouquet finials on the balusters like the finials on the balusters of the baptismal font with four silver figures on top).[153]

With regard to funeral ceremonies, though the use of valuable bed furnishings for the funerals of "*pessoas reais*" (royal family members) are documented, the only record of a bed garnished with silver being used is for the funeral of King Afonso VI, which took place at the Royal Palace of Sintra where he died on 12 September 1683. The description of the king's death and burial in a codex in the São Vicente collection[154] provides a detailed account of the funeral, which, it says, took place in the magpies chamber (*câmara das pegas*) where an *essa* (dais) was erected and a bed dressed with *Valladolid* brocade furnishings. In the inner room, the body was lain on a bed decorated with silver until it was transferred on the day of its burial to the room where the dais stood and where mass was held before the funeral cortege set off for Lisbon:

> *Na caza grande que chamão das pegas se armou hu*[m]*a hessa de altura de tres degraos cubertos de veludo carmezim guarnesidos de pasamanes de oyro cravados de pregos doyrados, em sima do pavim*[en]*to desta essa ficava hum leyto armado com a cama de borcado que chamaõ de Valhadolim; e por sima das taboas do leyto se cobrirão com o cobertor da mesma cama esta caza se armou com tellas brancas, e carmezins com sanefa por sima de tella carmezim com frangas de oyro no topo da caza se fez hu*[m] *altar com o dossel irmão da cama com as armas Riais no meio com hu*[m] *fromtal de tella Roxa com sanefas bordadas de prata; da parte direyta he esquerda ... avia houtra caza dentro a qual estava armada com hu*[m]*a armasão de borcados brancos e tellas amarellas com frangois de oyro, e no meio da caza se pos hu*[m] *leyto chapiado de prata com hu*[m]*a cama de Damasco carmezim cubertas as taboas do leito com hu*[m] *pano de borcado branco, e em sima deste leito se pos hu*[m] *caixão q*[ue] *era coberto de tella carmezim de lavor alto e forado por dentro de chamalote de prata branco com dez azas doyradas, e quatro fechaduras; emcima deste cayxhão tynha hu*[m]*a crus de tella branca com pasamanes de oyro cravada de pregos doyrados na cabiseira da caza estava hu*[m] *altar com seu dossel de tella carmezim; he ao redor da caza bancos cubertos de panos de Ras donde se asentavão os Relegiozos que rezavão feyto a modo de coro a caza toda alcatifada com oyto tocheyras de prata com suas tochas e compostas estas couzas veio ho corpo de sua mg.de pera a caza de fora ... e o puzerão no leito que estava posto na esa ...* [155]

However, according to other contemporary documents, including a letter from the Duke of Cadaval, the dais was in the swans hall (*sala dos cisnes*) and the bed, where the body lay for several days, was in the magpies chamber, as the record of the king's death in fact shows.[156] The correspondence from the secretary, Roque Monteiro Paim, informing of Afonso VI's death and the preparations for his burial, published by Virgínia Rau,[157] clarifies that the bed in the inner room – which would immediately indicate that it was the magpies chamber – where the king was displayed from the morning of the 14 September, was "*um leito rico que havia neste Paço*" (a rich bed that existed in this palace).[158] In short, it already existed in the Palace of Sintra and was not made for this purpose, i.e. a funeral ceremony. It may have been one of the beds made years earlier in 1666 for the king's wedding that remained in the palace.

Following the example of the Portuguese monarchy, the court nobility, above all that part of it ennobled at the time of the Restoration of independence of the kingdom of Portugal after sixty years of Spanish Habsburg rule, also invested in these ornate silver beds and their valuable textile garnishing. While no records about their use exist, a written account from the mid-1600s indicates they were

also used, and perhaps commissioned, for weddings, in which the major houses of the realm established important ties of kinship and displayed their splendour. The marriage of Pedro Severim de Noronha (†1664), King Afonso VI's secretary for the administration of Privileges (*secretário das Mercês*), to Mariana de Castro, daughter of Neutel de Castro e Bernarda Coutinho, is a case in point. A contemporary account mentions a bed garnished with silver. After describing the first outer room, which was dressed with *verdure* tapestries on the walls and carpets on the floor, and the dais chamber, intended as a "*descanço das senhoras que a ocupassem*" (a place of rest for its lady occupants), covered with carpets in line with the continued habit of women sitting on the floor in the oriental manner and according to strict etiquette,[159] there followed the "*Camara em cujo embrechado jazia um Leito guarnecido de prata e cuberto de hua tella encarnada descanço destinado* pª a *s.ra Dona Bernarda Coutinho mais adiante estava outra camara que se deixava occupar de hum hembrincado Leito do charão envolto de hua tapizada cama da China dignissimo talamo destes dous esposos*",[160] i.e. the nuptial bed. The beds and *catres* of oriental origin were still highly valued, as they had been the century before,[161] made in various Asian production centres, namely in India, China and Pegu.[162]

The documents confirm that some of the grand houses of the Restoration nobility owned silver-garnished beds among their assets. Thus, in the aforementioned inventory of assets in 1659, on the death of the 2nd Count of Castelo Melhor, João Rodrigues de Vasconcelos e Sousa (1593-1658), in addition to chest-beds for travelling, two "bronzed" beds and a large *pau-santo* bed with inlaid "*pao pardo*" valued at 35,000 *réis*, there was also a valuable specimen in the Palace of Anunciada which, like that studied here, is described as "*Hum leito de pao-preto todo guarnecido de prata branca com grade alta e algumas peças douradas que foi visto e avaliado em duzentos mil reis*" (A *pau-preto* bed completely garnished with white silver with a high railing and several gilded pieces that was inspected and valued at two hundred thousand reis).[163] In addition to the aforementioned bed that belonged to the ambassador Luís de Sousa, described in 1676 in his palace in Rome as a "*leito de estado*" of "*Ébano com engaste de prata obra de folhage os remates das grades e dos balaústres levão ramalhetes do mesmo*" (ebony enchased with silver foliage and silver bouquet matching finials on the headboard railings and balusters),[164] the counts of Sarzedas possessed a sumptuous and valuable example which, from the detailed description of its parts

in the inventory of 1701 after the death the year before of the 3rd Countess of Sarzedas, Inácia de Noronha, would seem to be one of the few beds of this kind of which there is any known documentary evidence – that of the marquises of Távora, described in the inventory of seizure of their assets published by Luís de Bivar Guerra in 1954.[165] The ties of kinship uniting these two families[166] suggest that this may have been the same bed, to which several alterations had been made, or a similar bed, such as that bequeathed by the Duke of Aveiro to the Virgin of Elche. This was almost identical to the Cadaval bed and both were almost certainly made in the same workshops and seemingly part of the same commission.

Significantly, the bed belonging to the counts of Sarzedas is listed under silver items: "*Hum leito guarnecido todo de prata Lavrada tresparente na grade treze balaustres e oito Rematos com seus vazos tudo guarnecido de prata e os coatro pilares com treze figuras que servem de remates com seus escudos e armas nas maõs e seus atributos e quoatro Ramalhetes de flores soltas com seos pasaros e suas guarniçoens douradas*" (A bed totally garnished with pierced silver, a railing of thirteen balusters and eight vase finials all decorated with silver, and four pillars with thirteen figure finials bearing shields and arms and their attributes and four bouquets of flowers with birds and gilt adornments).[167] The weight of the silver was estimated, together with the figures and bouquets, at over one hundred silver *marcos*, the values of which, including the gilt brass and wooden frame, was assessed at 700,000 *réis*. A table covered with silver sheets, with a drawer and square legs, was valued at 100,000 *réis*. The bed also included "*Hũa Lamina de pao preto pertencente ao Leito de molduras ondeadas guarnecida de prata lavrada e no meio ha Imagem de prata lavrada digo e no meio hũa Imagem de Nossa Senhora com o menino nos brassos e no frontazpisio a Imagem do Padre Eterno avaliado tudo em trinta mil reis*".[168] The bed was not part of the dowry of the countess, or count, as these assets are listed in the document. Therefore, everything would suggest that it was incorporated after the wedding, placing its production after 1689 when the Count of Sarzedas married Inácia de Noronha, Queen Marie Sofie's dame, and at the beginning of the 1690s. However, we cannot discard the possibility of an earlier dating, as it may have been added to the house's estate by gift or inheritance.

The marquises of Fronteira also owned a silver-garnished *pau-preto* bed which in 1673 appeared in the inventory held after the marquise's death, as Marieta Dá Mesquita reveals.[169] The piece of furniture was also decorated with silver bouquets, which seem to be a recurring feature of the silver decoration on these beds, five silver figures, one of which bearing a gilt coat of arms, and a few gemstones on the headboard railing, valued at 500,000 *réis*. These also appear on the bed belonging to the marquises of Távora and the *camilha* used for the baptism of the *infanta* Luísa Josefa in 1669, valued at 500,000 *réis*.[170]

The will of master cabinetmaker António Delgado from 1692 confirms not only the existence but the use of beds garnished with silver in the late 1600s. In this will, published by João Miguel Simões, the cabinetmaker, for whom the cabinetmakers Francisco Gomes and Manuel Rodrigues worked, states that he was owed 6,000 *réis* by Rodrigo Sanches for cleaning a bed and resetting its silver, among other work also performed on it.[171]

There are also records of these beds from the first half of the 18th century, namely in the distribution of the estate of the 1st Marquis of Abrantes, 7th Count of Penaguião and 3rd Marquis of Fontes, Rodrigo Anes de Sá Almeida e Meneses (1676-1733), who was married to Maria Sofia de Lancastre, daughter of the Duke of Cadaval. Published by Gonçalo de Vasconcelos e Sousa, this evaluation of the marquis's moveable and immoveable assets, which mentions some of the huge expense incurred with his embassy to Rome (1712-1718), describes in the rooms of the fort (probably the apartments of which he had use in the Fort Gallery in the Palace of Ribeira)[172] "*dous leitos com folheges de prata*" (two beds with silver foliage).[173] Unfortunately, no other reference to them is made nor are they valued, with no mention, for the case in question, of whether they were identical or not.

As far as the bed belonging to the marquises of Távora is concerned, inventoried at the time of the seizure of the family's assets in 1759, it was made of "*de pão de Evano torneado com sua grade de treze balaustres todo marchetado de prata … com guarnição em parte de latão dourado com duas laminas de prata lavrada pertencentes a cabeceira do mesmo leito*" (turned ebony with a headboard railing of thirteen balusters with

mounted silver ... partly garnished with gilt brass and two *lâminas* (sheets) of silver on the bed's headboard).[174] The detailed descriptions of the silver decorations, which included 13 silver figures and a headboard consisting of a railing of 13 balusters and a *lâmina* of silver, suggest the possibility that this is the bed that belonged to the counts of Sarzedas. The description mentions "*treze figuras de prata com várias significações e emsignias*" (thirteen silver figures with various meanings and insignia), with some of the parts missing, four small vases and fourteen bouquets, "*três delles mais pequenos de hum feityo e coatro de outro com paçaros em sima e sete de outro feytio tudo de prata*" (three smaller ones in one style, four in another with birds on the top and seven in another style all in silver). The bed is described as follows:

> *de pao de evano formada a grade de treze balaústres com molduras e releixos de latão dourado e tudo o mais goarnecido de prata lavrada tresparente de xapa tudo cravado com preguinhos de prata nas faces das mezas da grade tem treze cristais embutidos na madeira por forma de relicários ovados e alguas flores de prata alguas douradas com cristais no meyo por forma de bolotas de vários tamanhos e os coatro pilares hé formado cada um com coatro peças principais e nestas se encluem* várias peças armadas *humas nas outras torneadas tudo goarnecido de prata e releixos de latão dourado na forma dos balaústres alem das sobreditas tem mais coatro peças que mostrao ser a grade do mesmo leito os pilares tem de roda em alguas partes suas florezinhas com cristais no meyo e lhe faltão alguas destas avaliada a prata com que está goarnecido a grade pilares e mais pesas mencionadas nesta adição em duzentos e vinte mil reis.*[175]

There was also "*huma lamina de prata de xapa lavrada mais alta no meyo com moldura ovada tem de largo a lamina dois palmos e meyo e de alto palmo e três coartos tem levantada no meyo a figura de Cliopatra com os áspides nos peitos hé tarraxada em madeira com catorze tarraxas de prata as molduras de dentro e a de fora são douradas peza de prata seis marcos sinco onças e huma oitava avaliada no tempo perzente em trinta e oito mil e coatrocentos reis*"[176] and "*assim mais huma lamina de Nossa Senhora da Graça levantada no meyo de xapa de prata lavrada com duas molduras de latam dourado lavradas a dita lamina hé em forma oitavada tem de largura dois palmos tem hum Anjo incensando a senhora e menino Jesus hé tarraxada em madeira com dezasseis tarraxas e destas faltão coatro avaliada na forma em que está no tempo perzente em vinte mil reis*".[177] There was a set of furnishings for the room that matched the bed and was intended to line the walls of the apartment consisting of "*quatro panos de veludo carmezim bordados de ouro palha da India e retroz com as armas da casa forrados de Ruão*" (four crimson velvet cloths embroidered with gold thread from India lined with



[fig. 13]
Armorial hanging with the coat of arms of the marquises of Távora
China (?), silk velvet.
17th century.

Palácio Nacional da Ajuda
PNA 4106

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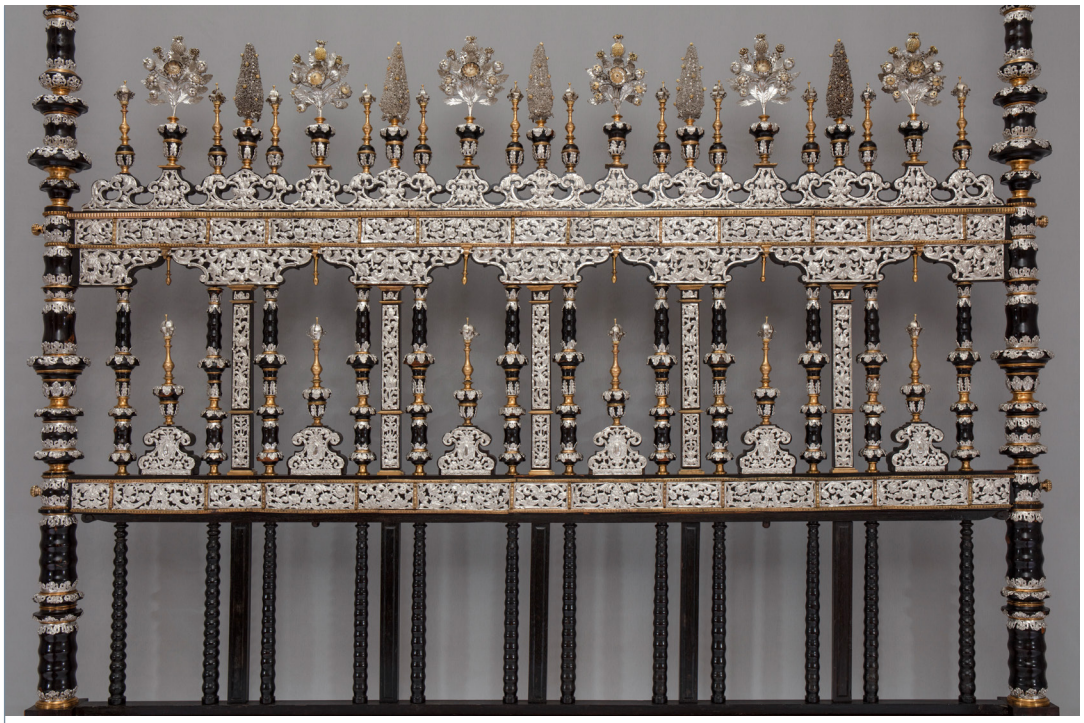
Rouen fabric with the family coat of arms), two other cloths lined with red cotton, a canopy cloth and headcloth, two gold fringed upper valances, eleven *portières*, another two Rouen portières and sixteen matching cushion cloths, and also a set of imperial bed hangings.[178] The National Palace of Ajuda owns several crimson velvet cloths that have been associated with this set and of which only one still retains the coat of arms of the House of Távora [fig. 13] with the respective motto: "QVASCVNQVE FINDIT".[179] They reveal the sumptuousness and splendour of the furnishings, both for the imperial bed and the apartment, and which, together with the ebony and silver bed, confirm that the textiles and silver still constituted the main sumptuary investment of the Portuguese nobility.[180]

As far as the Cadaval bed is concerned, like the bed which belonged to the house of Aveiro, it is part of the series of beds whose headboard arches are Italian inspired, as Bernardo Ferrão noted. The turning on the columns and balusters seen on Portuguese furniture from the mid-1600s differs from the smooth turnery on

the few known examples of that model decorated with gilt brass. It may therefore correspond to a slightly later example, especially given that documents reveal that the taste for "bronzed" decoration endured until much later, as it did on other Portuguese furniture. It was applied to beds with spiralled turning, such as the "*retroçido*" (twist) turned bed made for the royal wedding in 1666, and also appears on "ebony" and silver beds, such as the one used for the baptism of the future King João V in 1689. Also included are the silver bouquets which appear to have been common on these state beds, as well as the iconographic programmes on the headboards, as indicated by the thirteen silver figures holding weapons and shields on the Sarzedas bed and the "*treze figuras de prata com várias significações e emsignias*" (thirteen silver figures with various meanings and insignia) on the Távora bed.

As Hugo Xavier reveals, Silva Nascimento suggested incorrectly that the Cadaval bed had been made for funeral ceremonies, i.e. that it was a funeral bed, probably due the cypress-like silver elements on its headboard. However, like Teresa Leonor Vale, this is a theory that he disagrees with. She argues that the iconographic programme actually relates to matrimony, fertility and birth,[181] which is more in line with the documented use and commissioning of these beds.[182] Moreover, when the bed bequeathed by the 7th Duke of Aveiro to the administrators of the entailment of Our Lady of the Assumption of Elche, a bed almost identical to the subject of our study and which also includes silver cypresses, was delivered in Lisbon on 4 June 1753, it was also supplied with other elements that formed part of the ensemble and that were certainly intended for the same apartments: "*A Cama de Evano guarnecida de prata com sua colgadura, cortinas de Alcova, e seis tamboretes correspondentes que há em ella*" (The ebony bed garnished with silver with its hangings, chamber curtains and six matching stools).[183] This clearly indicates that the bed would have been used in this chamber and therefore could not have been a death bed, i.e. made for this specific purpose, even though, and like the Cadaval bed, it also has silver cypresses. This is a further reason for refuting Silva Nascimento's theory [fig. 14, 15].

The bed bequeathed by the Duke of Aveiro and the pieces that accompanied it were described at the time of its delivery in Lisbon to the agent of the administrators of the entailment of Our Lady of the Assumption of Elche on 4 June 1753 in the following terms:



[fig. 14]
General view of the headboard of the Cadaval bed.
Portugal, 17th century (second half)
Palácio Nacional de Sintra
PNS6207

© PSML | Photo: João Krull, 2019



[fig. 15]
Detail of the headboard of the Virgin of Elche bed.
Portugal, 17th century (second half)
Museo de la Virgen de la Asunción, Patrona de Elche
Elche, Alicante, Espanha

Photo: Fernando Montesinos, 2017

hum leyto de pao de Evano com sua grade guarnecida de chapa de prata e quatro asiprestes do mesmo com suas masans e pinhas chapeadas de prata, seis ramalhetes de flores, também de prata com suas pinhas chapeadas, a doze ramos cada hum com sua belota também de prata, os balaustres guarnecidos todos com suas sintas de prata, e em sima deles, por remates, quatro ramalhetes com seus frutos = Huma armação de leyto de veludo carmezim lizo, que se compoem de seis cortinas espaldar de cabeceira de setim branco forrado de olandilha, e as quatro cortinas também forradas de setim branco, e sobrecéu do mesmo setim branco, e com as sanefas pelas tres portas do leito a roda e do mesmo veludo e cuberta da cama do mesmo veludo, tudo guarnecido com galões de ouro, e as cortinas com várias argolinhas de prata, e suas sintas do mesmo // mesmo veludo para atar as cortinas = Tres portas de cortinas de veludo carmezim lizo, e sanefas do mesmo veludo, guarnecido de galão de ouro, e as sanefas de barambazes = seis tamboretes pequenos de madeira de Nugueira cubertos de veludo carmezim guarnecidos com galão de ouro, e pregaria de latão dourado, com suas coberturas de sarafina encarnada.[184]

This description reveals what the furnishings for the Cadaval bed could have looked like and also what silver pieces comprised the bed's decoration when it left Lisbon. It also allows us to identify the pieces made in Elche, namely two cypresses. This information is also important for dating these two beds, since it confirms that the bed had been used and was missing many parts, both in gilt brass and silver, for which replacements had to be made.[185]

Nevertheless, the lack of monographs on Portuguese beds and detailed documentation has so far prevented a precise date of manufacture for these two pieces from being suggested, even though they appear to have been made in the final decades of the 1600s. However, it was still possible to confirm that the bed which belonged to the Marquise Olga de Cadaval in the 1950s was part of the estate of the house of Cadaval, since the respective white silver and gilt silver decorative bouquets and cypresses were entailed to the family estate, established in 1699 by the 1st duke, Nuno Álvares Pereira de Melo, and successively approved in the following years and in his will of 1727.[186] This appears to be an exception, however, since there is no indication that these "ebony" and silver beds or their silver ornaments were included among the valuable series of tapestries, oriental carpets, precious jewels, relics and silverware entailed by the grand houses. According to Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, this is in fact a unique case, not just because the Duke entailed all of his moveable assets but due to the huge number of assets included, ranging from properties to interest, rents, privileges, allowances, jewellery,

silverware and tapestries,[187] and even paintings by renowned masters, such as the one he added to the majorat by will.[188]

The inventory of assets left on the death of the Duke of Cadaval, Nuno Caetano Álvares Pereira de Melo[189] (1799-1837), reveals all of these entailed objects, which range from precious oriental carpets and vestments for Mass to an incredible quantity of silver, encompassing the decoration from the bed studied here. In this vast process, begun in March 1840 with the inventory of the assets in the Palace of Pedrouços, which in the meantime suffered a fire on the eighteenth of the same month that made a new assessment of the damaged assets necessary, item no. 3127 in the chapter on the entailed silver reads as follows: "*Guarnição de cama constando a mesma de cyprestes e ramos de flores tudo de prata de Ley e peza trinta e sette marcos*" (Bed garnish consisting of cypresses and bunches of flowers all of sterling silver, weighing thirty-seven *marcos*).[190] This is valued at 207,200 *réis* and appears again as "*uma guarnição de cama que peza 37 marcos*" (a bed garnish weighing 37 *marcos*) in item no. 3942.[191] This valuation was based on an inventory of the entailed silver by the House of Cadaval's own notary, Joaquin Luis de Lacueva e Viedrua, in 1845 and registered at a notary office on 20 June 1845[192] where it was filed as annex 11 to the process: "Relação das Pessas de Prata vinculadas da Exma Casa do Cadaval, existentes e descritas no actual Inventario, com o seu respectivo Pêzo" (List of the pieces of silver entailed to the House of Cadaval, existing and described in the current Inventory, with their respective weight). Referred to on page 1v is "*uma guarnição de Câma. Marcos: 37*" (a bed garnish. *Marcos*: 37).[193]

It was therefore possible to confirm the existence, and the commissioning, of beds garnished with silver among the assets of the new brigantine dynasty and the grand titular houses of the Restoration. In Spain, meanwhile, despite the great renown and popularity of Portuguese beds, leading to their reproduction in styles mirroring the Portuguese models to a lesser or greater degree, these silver-garnished beds in ebony, or described as such, were almost only found among the assets of the Spanish crown. In addition to the beds mentioned, they also feature among the assets of King Carlos II (1661-1700). Listed in the inventory held after his death, therefore, a turned ebony bed decorated with silvered bronze. At the time it was valued in 1701, it was missing some very fine pieces of silver sheet and several gems

from the headboard had been removed and replaced with glass while the bed had been in Queen Marie Louise of Bourbon's bechamber. Valued at 8,000 *reales* (133,20), like some of the Portuguese beds documented, namely that belonging to the marquises of Távora and also the two that still exist today (the Cadaval and Aveiro beds), it had "*todas as manzanillas maçanetas y remates Con Unos ramilleteros de platta Con flores muy menudas y delgadas*" (all the finials and cresting with silver bouquets with very small and slim flowers).[194] The assets of the last Spanish monarch of the House of Habsburg also included a luxurious ebony and silver bed which, according to the assayers, weighed 12,324 *reales* in modern silver. It had exquisite furnishings and silver finials in the shape of vases for on which stood bouquets of flowers in passementerie and silver crowned by a silver eagle with a gilt fleece hanging from its mouth and on its wings.[195] The set was completed by an ebony chair with Solomonic columns garnished with silver that matched the bed and a low stool of the same wood and silver.[196] Recently, María del Carmen Heredia revealed the existence of another ebony bed garnished with silver sent to the first Spanish monarch of the House of Bourbon, Felipe V,[197] by the Viceroy Marquis of Valero in 1718.[198]

Therefore, despite the great European fashion for silver furniture, these sumptuous Portuguese state beds, which found their parallel in Spain, above all among the monarchy, are a remarkable testimony to the extent of the assets of the Portuguese crown and grand titular houses in the past and how they consumed sumptuary goods. Of these, only the beds belonging to the houses of Cadaval and Aveiro still remain. A remarkable and rare example of the richness of Portuguese artistic heritage, and the distinctiveness and excellence of the country's decorative arts, 17th-century furniture in particular, the Cadaval bed, whose preservation was due to various circumstances analysed elsewhere by Hugo Xavier, was acquired by Parques de Sintra-Monte da Lua and can now be enjoyed by the public in the National Palace of Sintra.[199]

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NOTES

1 Santos, 1953: 383, fig. 451.

2 Castelo-Branco, 1956: 80. The photograph of the Cadaval bed appears on the back of an unnumbered page between pages 80 and 81 with the following caption: "*Cama seiscentista com aplicações de prata*" (Seventeenth-century bed with silver adornments). There is a photo of the bed at the Academia Nacional de Belas Artes (ANBA) from when it still belonged to the Marquise of Cadaval's collection which was intended to appear in the volume dedicated to Lisbon in the *Inventário Artístico de Portugal* (ANBA, Inventário Artístico de Portugal, Fotos, Lisboa, xx. 75-A, Colecções Particulares, Colecção Marquesa do Cadaval, Lisboa).

3 "A propósito duma 'cama imperial' dos Marqueses de Cadaval", offprint of the magazine *Gil Vicente*, vol. XXIII, no. 11-12.

4 Later, during its exhibition on the VOC Antiguidades stand at the Lisbon Art and Antiques Fair in 2000, it merited an article by Anísio Franco. See Franco, 2000: 36-41.

5 See the chapter by Hugo Xavier in this publication.

6 The name then given to furniture garnished with gilt brass, nearly always referred to as gilt bronze in documents from that time.

7 Guerra, 1954: 16-17, 105-106.

8 Nascimento, 1950: 44-45.

9 Nascimento, 1950: 43.

10 Nascimento, 1950: 43.

11 This decorative effect spread throughout Europe in the second decade of the 17th century and consisted of parallel grooves creating the illusion of a ripple movement like a wave. It is called "*ondeados*" in the documentation. The invention of the wave or ripple mouldings in furniture, known in Germany as *flammleisten*, has been attributed to the Nuremberg cabinetmaker Johann Schwanhardt (1562?-1612). These mouldings were a characteristic decorative feature of the 17th century and were extremely popular in Portugal.

12 This decorative effect consists of rows of parallel diagonal lines divided in V shapes. Each pair of rows resembles the backbone of a fish.

13 This type of bed consists of spiral turned columns whose end posts form pinnacles. The headboard, often complemented by a carved centrepiece, is profusely decorated with small twisted turned finials and pendants.

14 Távora, 1972: 10.

15 Távora, 1972: 15.

16 Bobbin turning (*torneado em roca*) is a form of ornamental turning representing a succession of balusters or pieces in the shape of bulbs or bobbins.

17 Távora, 1972: 15.

18 Távora, 1972: 17.

19 Távora, 1972: 17.

20 Ferrão, 1990: 104.

21 Smith, 1966.

22 Távora, 1972: 19.

23 Santos, 1953: 380-381.

24 On this subject, see Arminjon/Mabille/Saule, 2007.

25 As verified in Felipe II's decree of 1593 forbidding the manufacture of furniture in silver or adorned with silver. On this subject, see Cruz Valdovinos, 2007a and 2007b.

26 Ferrão, 1972: 21. In this line of thought, it would also be necessary to consider the possibility of the bed being a work made in Portugal by Portuguese craftsmen based on oriental prototypes or under Indian influence.

27 Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Feitos Findos, Inventários post mortem, Letra A, maço 306, nº 4, *Inventário que se fez por falecimento de Aires Teles de Meneses, conde de Vila Pouca de Aguiar … o qual inventário se fez e continuou com a viúva sua mulher a senhora Condessa de Vila Pouca de Aguiar por estar com posse de cabeça de casal dos bens que dele ficaram*, 1692. Paleographic transcription by Lina Maria Marrafa de Oliveira for the project "A Casa Senhorial em Lisboa e no Rio de Janeiro nos séculos XVII, XVIII e XIX". Available at http://acasasenhorial.org/acs/index.php/pt/fontes-documentais/inventarios/61-aires-teles-de-menezes-1692

28 See the chapter in this publication by the conservators Manuel Lemos, Matthias Tissot, Isabel Tissot and Maria João Petisca.

29 Bastos, 2018a: 99.

30 Smith, 1974: 17-22.

31 In 1640, for example, Manuel de Lisboa ordered a shipment of *pau-preto* wood for a bed. See the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), AHU_CU_CONSULTAS DE PARTES, Cod. 44, fl. 265: "*Consulta sobre Manuel de Lisboa pede se lhe despachem uns pedaços de pau preto que lhe deram para fazer um leito e estão na casa da índia, pagando deles os direitos que dever*".

32 Vasconcelos, 1786 [1608]: 127. Both "*pau-preto*" and "*pau de Moçambique*" seem to have been used in equal measure to identify *sissó* wood, as, for example, in a will from 1701 transcribed by Simões, 2002: 121 and 122.

33 On the subject of the cargo of the ships from India, the author writes: "*Em cada uma vem também muito pão de Evano, a que chamam pão de Moçambique*" ("Each also carries a lot of ebony called *pão de Moçambique*"). Oliveira, 1991 [1620]: 462 and 13v do *fac-simile*.

34 *Tasa de los precios a que se han de vender las mercadorias y otras cosas. 1628*, published by Aguiló Alonso, 1993, doc. no. 39, 436-438. In addition to "*evano de Lisboa de la India fino, dos reales y doze maravedis la libra, y la no tan bueno, a dos reales*" (fine Indian ebony from Lisbon for two *reales* and twelve *maravedis* per pound, and the not so good at two *reales*), there are also appear "*cahoba*", "*evano de Castilla*", "*carey*" and "*granadillo*", 436.

35 On the importing of wood from the Portuguese East Indies and Brazil from Lisbon to the port of Santander in the 17th century, see Secades González-Camino, 1972: 66-70.

36 Various types of wood were imported from Brazil, such as *jacarandá*, also known as *pau-preto*. On the matter of identifying and naming the wood, namely the famed *pau-preto* or *jacarandá* (*Dalbergia nigra*), in 18th-century furniture documented in Porto, see Bernal/Pissarra/Valente, 2011 and Valente, 2011.

37 On the types of wood available in Lisbon in the 1570s and following decades, namely "ébano de Portugal" and *angelim*, see, among others sources, Felipe II's correspondence with Cristóvão de Moura on the purchase in Lisbon of planks of ebony for cabinets, revealed by Pérez de Tudela, 2010: 33-47, especially 36, 37, 42 and 43, and, for *angelim*, Soromenho, 2001; Idem, 2004, and Aguiló Alonso, 2001: 13-14.

38 For example, in the documents on the preparations for the wedding of King Afonso VI of Portugal to Marie-Françoise-Élisabeth de Savoie, one of the tables in the queen's service is sometimes described as *ébano* and other times as *pau de Moçambique*. See Bastos, 2018a: 99 and 101, note 54.

39 ANTT, *Arquivo da Casa de Abrantes*, no. 163. A.

40 See the chapter by Joan Castaño García.

41 The art historian Bruno Martinho was the first researcher to draw attention to the formal similarities between the Cadaval and Virgin of Elche beds in December 2016. The following year, on 2-3 November, Fernando Montesinos, curator at the National Palace of Sintra, met Joan Castaño García, Director of the Elche Museum, to analyse the bed of the dukes of Aveiro *in situ*. This working visit provided the opportunity to confirm the formal similarities between the beds, record the structural and ornamental differences, survey relevant bibliographical and documentary information, and take numerous photographs, both general and detailed. These materials were available to all the researchers involved in this publication.

42 ANTT, Feitos Findos, Inventários post mortem, Letra D, maço 63, nº 5, *Autos de exibição do testamento do Duque de Aveiro D. Gabriel de Lencastre Ponce de León Manrique de Lara Cárdenas Giron y Aragon*, fls. 778-780v.

43 ANTT, Feitos Findos, Inventários post mortem, Letra D, maço 63, nº 5, *Autos de exibição do testamento do Duque de Aveiro …*, fl. 34.

44 Bastos, 2012: 83.

45 Bastos, 2012: 83.

46 Bastos, 2012.

47 Carneiro, 1885: 61-64, *apud* BASTOS, 2012: 72.

48 Carneiro, 1885: 63, *apud* Bastos, 2012: 72.

49 ANTT, Feitos Findos, Inventários post mortem, Letra F, maço 120(B), nº 2, *Inventário dos bens e fazenda que ficou por falecimento de Dona Maria de Brito, viúva de Dom Francisco de Noronha, o qual se fez com seu genro Gaspar de Faria Severim, Executor-mor do Reino*, 1628. Paleographic transcription by Lina Maria Marrafa de Oliveira for the project "A Casa Senhorial em Lisboa e no Rio de Janeiro, nos Séculos XVII, XVIII e XIX." Available at http://acasasenhorial.org/acs/index.php/pt/component/cck/391-d-maria-de-brito-1628-2

50 ANTT, Arquivo da Casa de Abrantes, no. 163.

51 Freire, 1899: 46.

52 ANTT, Feitos Findos, Inventários post mortem, Letra J, maço 347, n.º 9, fls. 55v-57v, 58v, 59v, 42v. Paleographic transcription by Lina Maria Marrafa de Oliveira for the project "A Casa Senhorial em Lisboa e no Rio de Janeiro, Séculos XVII, XVIII e XIX". Available at http://www.acasasenhorial.org/acs/index.php/en/fontes-documentais-en/inventarios-en/401-conde-de-castelo-melhor-1659 and analysed by Mendonça, 2016: 180.

53 ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, 1148, *Copia dos decretos que Sua Magestade que Deus guarde enviou ao Consº da Fazenda tocantes a seu real Serviço*, fl. 6, *Decreto de S. mgde de 14 de novrº de 1645 sobre certas peças da India e da China q o dito Senhor mande se lhe deem pª seu serviço.* Translation: "I require for my purposes several Chinese lacquer cabinets, fine bedspreads, calambuco beads, some Indian *brincos* & a pair of those good beds made in the Kingdom … and they are to be sent to several people abroad."

54 Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP), códice 4173, *Do Governo de Portugal. Das Casas dos Reys e das Rainhas,* fls. 153v and 154, *apud* Bastos, 2003: 207. Transcribed by Silva, 2003: 114. Fls. 146v-155,168-172 and 244-244v of the codex were transcribed and published by Silva, 2003: 107-115.

55 BNP, códice 4173, fl. 234, *apud* Bastos, 2003: 206 and 2018: 99

56 ANTT, Feitos Findos, Inventários post mortem, Letra C, maço 23, nº 1. Paleographic transcription by Lina Maria Marrafa de Oliveira for the project "A Casa Senhorial em Lisboa e no Rio de Janeiro, Séculos XVII, XVIII, XIX". Available at http://www.acasasenhorial.org/acs/index.php/pt/fontes-documentais/inventarios/366-conde-de-redondo-1707-1708

57 Sousa, 1956: 44.

58 Simões, 2002: II, 121.

59 Smith, 1974 and 1975.

60 Aguiló Alonso, 1993: 149.

61 See, for example, the study dedicated to Malaga by Morcillo Portal, 1997: 173-181. In his survey, the author identifies 46.5% of beds as being solely for sleeping. The others, which were also used for receiving, included turned *granadillo* beds and old turned "*barandillas*" beds, i.e. Portuguese or Portuguese-style beds. Morcillo Portal, 1997: 180-181.

62 The next item, also marked in the margin as belonging to the category of "*camas de palo*" (wooden beds), also seems to be an identical bed made in Lisbon, as it is described as "*otra* [cama] *de lo mismo*" (another [bed] of the same type) and valued at 2,000 *reales*. Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, Archivo de los Duques de Osuna, OSUNA, C.1624, D.28, *Precios en dies de nobiembre de 1673 anos,* fl. 2v [modern numbering].

63 Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, OSUNA, C.1591, D.49-3, *Traslado de un inventario de los bienes que quedaron tras la muerte de Rodrigo Ponce de León,* [IV] *duque de Arcos*, fls. 10, 14, 57v and 58.

64 *Berjuelas* are the pinnacles on the headboard balusters on Portuguese-style beds. See Aguiló Alonso, 1993: 421.

65 Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, OSUNA, C.498, D.2-3, *Copia y traslado del inventario y tasación de los bienes dejados por Juan Gaspar Enríquez de Cabrera,* [IV] *duque de Medina de Rioseco*, fls. 300 e 300v. Available at http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/5851177

66 The author also suggests, based on the studies of Blanca Secades González-Camino on furniture from the province of Santander, that Portuguese beds were so in demand that some Spanish craftsmen had travelled to Portugal to learn how to make them, mentioning the existence of workshops specialising in their manufacture in the Valley of Cabuérniga in Spain. See Aguiló Alonso, 1993: 149-150. Blanca Secades González-Camino points to a high number of craftmen from the village of Los Tojos who were in Portugal at a later date, in 1743, especially various turners (*torneiros*) and bed makers (*cameros*). The author in fact questions whether the Portuguese beds were influenced by those from the province of Santander or if, on the contrary, those from Santander copied Portuguese models. Secades González-Camino, 1972, above all pages 106-109 and 115-117. She also points to Santander's vast trade in wood from the Indies, some emanating from Portugal, in the second half of the 17th century, recording cargoes of Brazilian woods like jacaranda. Secades González-Camino, 1972: 66-70.

67 Aguiló Alonso, 1993: 149. In 1627, included on the list of prices of goods sold in Seville are beds with turned posts and *varandillas* headboards made of balusters of various types of turned wood, such as walnut, *caoba*, etc. See *Tassa* 1627: 127.

68 Núñez Roldán, 2004: 63.

69 Kinkead, 2009: 401.

70 The bed's wood is identified in 1656 as *granadillo*. See the Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, OSUNA, C.1624, D.3, *Inventario de bienes muebles que quedaron en el palacio de Marchena (Sevilla) cuando los duques de Arcos se trasladaron a Madrid (Madrid),* fl. 14v. In a valuation dating from 1676, it is identified as *pau-santo*. See the Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, OSUNA, C.1624, D.28, *Precios en dies de nobiembre de 1673 anos,* fl. 6v (modern numbering).

71 Montes González, 2017.

72 *1673 Inventario de Juan Rodriguez de Mercado escribano de hijosdalgos.* Available at https://investigadoresrb.patrimonionacional.es/node/7894

73 Aguiló Alonso, 1993: 149.

74 Aguiló, 2002: 274.

75 See Cobo, 1890-1893 [1653]. Available at http://bibliotecadigital.aecid.es/bibliodig/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=579

76 Cobo, 1964. Available at https://archive.org/details/obrasdelbernabec02cobo

Granadillo seems to have been a Spanish generic term for several exotic wood species whose colour can be vary variable, ranging from red to black, almost all from the genus Dalbergia. These woods were imported from different colonies in the Spanish and Portuguese empires, including Dalbergia granadillo and Dalbergia retusa, among others. Both species were often called cocobolo.

77 *1655 Testamento e inventario del licenciado Francisco de Sober y Quiroga, alias Francisco de Quiroga abogado muerto el el galeon Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso capitana de la flota de Nueva España*. Available at https://investigadoresrb.patrimonionacional.es/node/7467

78 Biblioteca da Ajuda (BA), 51-VIII-41, fl. 366, mentioned by Bastos, 2003: 206-207.

79 Aguiló Alonso, 1993: 149.

80 Note, 1663: 19.

81 Leão, 1997: 101-107.

82 Undivided and inalienable entailed properties associated by law with a title of nobility, designated *morgado* in Portuguese, and based on male primogeniture. A majorat would be inherited by the eldest son and his issue, or if there was no son, the nearest relative. In exceptional cases the majorat could be given to the line of the eldest daughter.

83 Núñez Roldán, 2004: 63.

84 Kinkead, 2009: 254.

85 Curiel: 1993: 53

86 Montes González, 2017.

87 Montes González, 2017. On a bed made in Asia (Japan) following the western model, see Curvelo, 2010.

88 Aguiló Alonso, 1993: 149.

89 Fernández Bayton, 1975.

90 Fernández Bayton, 1975: 313.

91 Fernández Bayton, 1975: 325.

92 Fernández Bayton, 1975: 333.

93 Fernández Bayton, 1975: 292.

94 Fernández Bayton, 1985: 71.

95 Fernández Bayton, 1985: 71.

96 Barrio Moya, 2013. Available at http://www.chdetrujillo.com/tag/jose-luis-barrio-moya

97 *Descripçam,* 1644: 32, 60, 83-88. Embassies involved huge expense, and it was not unusual for ambassadors themselves to bear the cost. In fact, the success of an embassy depended not only on the gifts sent by the monarchs but also the wealth of the ambassador, as mentioned in contemporary treatises, namely the renowned work *El Embaxador* (1620). Its author, the Count de la Roca, Juan Antonio de Vera y Figueroa, states that ambassadors should be "rich in wealth" so they can match the gifts of their hosts and afford the huge costs an embassy entailed (*apud* Colomer, 2003: 25).

98 Most of the jewellery, together with the bed furnishings, are described in a letter from João IV to the Count of Vidigueira, Portugal's ambassador in Paris, instructing the latter to deliver the pieces taken by the Marquis of Cascais to Dr. Luís Pereira de Castro. See Coelho, 1940: I, 82-83.

99 "*... hum leito de pao preto todo guarnecido de prata lavrada e os paramentos emcarnados de ló de ouro*" (a *pau-preto* bed garnished entirely with embossed silver and red furnishings with gold *ló*), BA, 51-IX-2, fl. 185, *Memoria das peças que por ordem de sua Mag.de remeteo o Conde Almirante ao S.or Luis Pereira de Castro*, Lisbon, 12 December 1643; and *Papel de Luís Pereira de Castro em que declara ter recebido as peças conteúdas no rol atrás por ordem do Conde Almirante* [Vasco Luís da Gama, Count of Vidigueira], Munster, 23 December 1645; "*Dos lós encarnados e ouro q. vierão a meu poder se fes o paramento de cama pera o leito de páo de mosambique e pratta q. o Marques de Cascaes levou q.do foy à França*" (The bed furnishings for the Mozambique wood and silver bed that the Marquis of Cascais took to France were made with the red and gold *ló* that were available to me"), fl. 474, mentioned by Bastos, 2003: 207.

100 BA, 51-IX-2, fls. 180-181, *Despesa que fis das joyas e leito que El Rey Nosso S.nor me mandou entregar ao Marques de Cascaes*, Lisbon, 12 December 1643, mentioned by Bastos, 2003: 207.

101 Michel, 2009: 287. Interestingly, an ebony bed was included in the dowry of her niece, Mariana of Austria, when she wed Filipe IV of Spain in 1649.

102 Michel, 2009: 287.

103 "5 11* – *Quatre grands bouquets de fleurs de taillures d'argent pour les pommes du lit cy-après, pesans ensemble 111m 2º 4g Nota: Que ces quatre bouquets servent au lit or, argent et bleu de Portugal nº 377*", Guiffrey, 1885: 67; "*377 – Un meuble complet d'estoffe rayée d'or, d'argent et bleu, avec son bois fait en Portugal de bois de brézil, enrichy de plusieurs ornemens de cuivre doré, avec vingt petites figures d'argent sur le dossier*", Guiffrey, 1886: 252 and 253. J. da Silva Nascimento refers to Portuguese beds in Louis XIV's "*garde-meuble*" that were shown to the ambassadors of Siam in 1686, and highlighted alongside others of eastern manufacture, among the huge number of items existing there (Nascimento, 1950: 44). Actually, this refers not to the beds, i.e. the wooden frame or other materials, but, according to the description in *Mercure* of that year, to the bed hangings, some of which were Portuguese. See *Mercure,* 1686; 299. These hangings were made by Le Roux for Queen Maria Theresa of Austria (1638-1683), daughter of Felipe IV of Spain, who gave it to her husband, Louis XIV. See Alfonso Caffarena, 2016: 204.

104 On this theme, see Cruz Valdovinos, 2007a: 187-191 and Cruz Valdovinos, 2007b: 425-435. On Spanish silver furniture, see also Fernández Martín, 2017, among others.

105 Hernmarck, 1977: 214 *apud* Cruz Valdovinos, 2007a: 187 and 2007b: 425.

106 On this furniture, see Mabille, 2007 and Saule, 2007.

107 Armijon/Mabille/Saule, 2007.

108 ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, nº 729, CASTRO, Frei Manuel Bautista de, *Chronica do Maximo Doutor e Principe dos Patriarchas São Jeronymo Particular do Reyno de Portugal, dedicado a D. João V,* fl. 514v, *apud* Bastos, 2013a: 120 e Bastos/Franco, 2013–2014: 98, nota 8. Translation: "entirely dressed in red brocade, and the floor is also covered in the same brocade, all garnished with gold passementerie, with some large gold cords and tassels, for on the walls hang sconces of silver made in Germany. The two outer walls were decorated with two mirrors, and two tables, each with its own fountain, all in silver, incised with foliage and other stylised modern work, made in England, brought by Queen Catherine of Great Britain."

109 Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Département des manuscrits, Portugais 32, fl. 90 (105).

110 In the 16th century, for example, in addition to Felipe II's silver bed, documented is the execution in 1557 of a silver bed for Leonor of Austria, Queen of France, by the silversmith from Valladolid Francisco de Guinea, hired to cover the entire structure of a bed for the queen with polished and smooth silver. See Rojo.

111 Baruque Manso/Cruz Valdovinos, 1975: 619; Cruz Valdovinos, 2007a: 193; 2007b: 434.

112 López Ferreiro, 1907: 87 and 167-173.

113 López Ferreiro, 1907: 87 e 167-173.

114 Aguiló Alonso, 1993: 150.

115 Brown, Elliot, 1981: 233 *apud* Aguiló Alonso, 1993: 150.

116 Pötting/Nieto Nuño, 1999: 137, *apud* Cruz Valdovinos, 2007b: 435.

117 Capmany y Montpalau, 1862; 16.

118 Aguiló Alonso, 1993: 150.

119 Cruz Valdovinos, 2007b: 431 and 432.

120 García García, 2009: 246-249; Lopéz Conde, 2017: 114

121 Heredia Moreno, Hidalgo Ogáyar, 2016: 162.

122 On the decorative scheme, see Bastos, 2018a: 89-109.

123 BNP, cod. 4173, fl. 234, *apud* Bastos, 2003: 206; Bastos, 2018a: 99.

124 BNP, cod. 4173, fl. 67v, *apud* Bastos, 2018a: 97 and 98.

125 BNP, cod. 4173, fl. 77, *apud* Bastos, 2003: 206; Bastos, 2018a: 99.

126 BNP, códice 4173, fl. 25, *apud* Bastos, 2003: 206.

127 In the Portuguese case and on the use of rugs and furniture in court etiquette and hierarchical distinctions, see Bastos, 2007 and 2018b.

128 BnF, Portugais 32, *175, Memoria de Francisco Carvalho do que se comprou para o segundo cazamento de ElRey, anno de 1687,* fl. 377 (331)-378v (332v).

129 Part of the house of Cadaval documentation was taken to Paris in 1808 by Geoffroy de Saint-Hilaire during the Peninsular War, giving rise to the Portuguese fund at the National Library of France.

130 BnF, Portugais 32, fl. 377 (331).

131 This ship was already in Baía by May 1685 on its return journey to Portugal. See *Bibliotheca Nacional*, 1934: 303 et seq.

132 BnF, Portugais 32, fl. 377 (331).

133 BnF, Portugais 32, fl. 377v (331v).

134 BnF, Portugais 32, fl. 377v (331v).

135 BnF, Portugais 32, *175, As Joyas que se fizerão para o Cazamento de Sua Magestade* ..., fls. 34-36.

136 BnF, Portugais 32, fl. 377v (331v).

137 BnF, Portugais 32, fl. 378 (332).

138 BnF, Portugais 32, fl. 377 (331).

139 See Martinho, 2009: 111-114.

140 BA, 54-XI-36, Nº 95, fl. 5, *apud* Vale, 2005: 167; 2006: 32.

141 Vieira, 1873, 58, *apud* Franco, 2014: 136.

142 Franco, 2014.

143 I would like to thank Fernando Montesinos for this information.

144 Mendonça, 2016: 190

145 Menezes, 1796: 38-45, *apud* Mendonça, 2016: 191. Ignacio de Souza e Meneses' memoirs are available as part of the project "A Casa Senhorial, Portugal, Brasil e Goa", Anatomia dos Interiores", in the file "Palácio de Porto Côvo". Available at http://acasasenhorial.org/acs/index.php/pt/component/cck/145-palacio-de-porto-covo

146 ANTT, *Colecção de São Vicente*, liv. 20, fl. 52.

147 ANTT, *Colecção de São Vicente*, liv. 20, fl. 53.

148 A rich fabric with gold and silver thread.

149 Enriquez de Villegas, 1670, *apud* Castilho, Macedo, 1942: 223, 232-233. Diego Enríquez de Villegas' book was analysed by Vasconcelos, 1900: 117-129, Viterbo, 1920 and Sequeira, 1924: 43-55, and is mostly transcribed and published by Luís Pastor de Macedo in note 2 of the book by Castilho, Macedo, 1942: 223-235. The same event is narrated by Cunha, 1669.

150 Nascimento, 1950: 45.

151 BnF, Portugais 32, *Relasao he forma de como se bautizou o serenisimo Dom João q*[ue] *D*[eo]*s g*[uar]*de premcepe de Portugal*, fls. 67–68v. Transcribed and published by Francisco Bilou. Available at https://independent.academia.edu/FranciscoTe%C3%B3filoAlfaiateBilou. Matches two versions from the Biblioteca da Ajuda studied by Ferreira, 2011, and Tedim, 1999.

152 BnF, Portugais 32, *Relasao he forma de como se bautizou o serenisimo Dom João* …, fl. 68.

153 BnF, Portugais 32, *Relasao he forma de como se bautizou o serenisimo Dom João*…, fl. 68v.

154 ANTT, *Colecção de São Vicente*, livro 20, *Relasão do que se fez em sintra na morte de sua m*[a]*g*[estad]*de q. D*[eu]*s tem*, fls. 502 e 503. The document was written by the *reposteiro-mor* João Sanches de Leiros. There is another description in ANTT, *Colecção de São Vicente*, livro 22, *Relação do q*[ue] *se fez em Cintra na morte de S*[ua] *Mag*[estad]*e que D*[eu]*s tem,* fls. 40 et seq. I am grateful to Bruno Martinho for the transcription of this last document.

155 ANTT, *Colecção de São Vicente*, livro 20, *Relasão do que se fez em sintra na morte de sua mg.de q. D.s tem*, fls. 502 and 503. Translation: "In the large room they call the magpies chamber was mounted a dais three-step high covered in crimson velvet with gold passementerie fastened with golden nails; on this dais stood a bed furnished with brocade hangings they call *Valladolid*; and on the boards of the bedstead was a matching counterpane; the chamber was dressed with white and crimson *tela* with a crimson *tela* valance with gold fringing; at the top of the chamber was an altar with a canopy matching the bed with the [Portuguese] Royal Coat of Arms in the middle with a purple *tela* front and silver embroidered valances; on the right and left … was another chamber dressed with white brocade and yellow *telas* with gold fringing, and in the middle of the chamber was a bed covered with silver and dressed with crimson damask furnishings and the boards of the bedstead were covered with a white brocade cloth, and on it was placed a coffin covered with a fine crimson *tela* and covered inside with white silver camlet with ten gold handles and four latches; above this coffin was a cross of white *tela* with gold passementerie fastened with gold nails to the headboard; in the chamber was an altar with a crimson *tela* canopy; and around the chamber were benches covered with Arras cloth on which sat the clergy who chanted their prayers, the chamber all carpeted and with eight silver candlesticks and torches, and once everything was ready, his majesty's body was brought from the other chamber … and placed on the bed on top of the dais …".

156 Some, such as Virgínia Rau, suggest that the body was displayed in the Swans Room where the dais was to be found. Rau published the Duke of Cadaval's letter in which he notes that the dais was mounted in the Swans Room and that the body remained in the Magpies Room while the Swans Room was being prepared (Rau, 1970:190). The Count of Sabugosa gives the same account in the work *Anti-Catastrophe* but mentions some disagreement on the subject. He published the record of Afonso VI's death in the parish register in which it mentions that the king's body "*esteve* público na casa das pegas do Palassio desta villa de Cintra *sinco dias*" (was displayed in the magpies chamber in the Palace of this town of Sintra for five days) (*apud*, Sabugosa, 1903: 133, nota 2). *Anti-Catastrophe* offers the following description: "*Preparado tudo, se fez uma Eça na casa dos cisnes de veludo encarnado, guarnecido de paçamanes de ouro com seis tocheiras. Sobre esta Eça se colocou o corpo em um caixão de tella encarnada com cruz de tella branca, e se cobrio com um pano de tella. Veio o corpo de El-Rei da Câmara até à Eça*" (When ready, a red velvet dais was erected in the magpies chamber garnished with gold passamenterie and six candlesticks. On this dais was placed the body inside a coffin with a red *tela* with a white *tela* cross, and this was covered with another cloth. The body of the king was brought from the chamber to the dais"), Sousa, 1845: 695.

157 Letter by Roque Monteiro Paim dated Sintra, 14 September 1683, *apud* Rau, 1970: 183 and 184.

158 Rau, 1970: 184.

159 On this point, see Bastos, 2007.

160 BA, 51-IX-4, fl. 336, *Relato da faustosa boda de D. Mariana de Castro* [ou D. Mariana Coutinho] *filha de D. Noutel de Castro e de D. Bernarda Coutinho com Pedro Severim de Noronha.* Translation: "Chamber in which stood a bed garnished with silver and covered with a red cloth, where the Dona Bernarda Coutinho might rest; beyond this was another chamber occupied by a decorated lacquer bed covered by Chinese furnishings and most worthy of the spouses."

161 On this point, see Ferrão, 1990b; Bastos, 2012; 2013; 2018b.

162 The latter was an important production centre for lacquered objects such as beds, cabinets and trays whose inclusion in Portuguese inventories I have referred to in an earlier study. Bastos, 2012: 88–89.

163 ANTT, Feitos Findos, Inventários post mortem, Letra J, maço 347, n.º 9, fls. 49v e 50. A paleographic transcription by Lina Maria Marrafa de Oliveira for the project "A Casa Senhorial em Lisboa e no Rio de Janeiro, Séculos XVII, XVIII e XIX". Available at http://www.acasasenhorial.org/acs/index.php/en/fontes-documentais-en/inventarios-en/401-conde-de-castelo-melhor-1659. A*pud* Mendonça, 2016: 180

164 BA, 54-XI-36, Nº 95, fl. 5. Vale, 2005, p. 167; 2006, p. 32.

165 Guerra, 1954.

166 Inácia de Noronha, Countess of Sarzedas through marriage to Rodrigo da Silveira, was the granddaughter, on her mother's side, of the 1st Marquis of Távora; Rodrigo da Silveira married for the second time to the daughter of the 2nd Marquis of Távora.

167 ANTT, Feitos Findos, Inventários post mortem, Letra J, maço 332, n.º 17, *Inventario de bens que ficarao por faleçimento da Senhora condessa de sarzedas, Donna Ignaçia de Noronha o qual se continuou com o Conde seu marido Dom Rodrigo da Silveira Silva Telles* (1701), fl. 8v, described again on fl. 40, and on the certificate included by the assayer and loyal silversmith of the city of Lisbon, Manuel da Costa, referred to by Bastos, 2018a: 99.

168 ANTT, Feitos Findos, Inventários post mortem, Letra J, mç. 332. n.º 7, *Inventario de bens que ficarao por faleçimento da Senhora condessa de sarzedas, Donna Ignaçia de Noronha o qual se continuou com o Conde seu marido Dom Rodrigo da Silveira Silva Telles* (1701), fl. 10. Translation: "A little sheet (*lâmina*) in a rippled *pau-preto* moulding belonging to the bed garnished with silver and with a silver image in the middle, that is, an image of Our Lady holding the Child and on the frontispiece an image of the Eternal Father, all valued at thirty thousand *réis*"

169 Mesquita, 1992.

170 Published by Mesquita, 1992, II: 45-46, *apud* Vale in the chapter in this publication.

171 Simões, 2002: II, 62.

172 Bruno Martinho mentions that the marquis had his own chambers in the Palace of Ribeira in the Fort Gallery. See Martinho, 2009: 75.

173 Sousa, 2007: 260.

174 Guerra, 1954: 16.

175 Translation: "... of ebony with a headboard railing of thirteen balusters with gilt brass mouldings and washers and everything garnished with silver plates all fastened with small silver nails; on the surface of the facings of the railing are thirteen crystals inlaid in the wood in the form of egg-shaped reliquaries and several silver flowers some gilded with crystals in the middle in the form of acorns in various sizes and the four posts are each formed of four large pieces and these include various turned pieces mounted on top of each other all garnished with silver and gilt brass washers in the shape of balusters; in addition to the above, there are another four pieces which appear to be the railing for the bed; the posts are decorated all the way around in some parts with flowers with crystals in the middle some of which are missing; the silver decoration on the railing, posts and other pieces mentioned is valued at two hundred and twenty thousand *réis*."

176 Translation: "a *lâmina* (sheet) of silver, raised in the middle, with an egg-shaped moulding, two and a half palms wide and one palm and three-quarters high, with the figure of Cleopatra in the middle with asps on her bosom; it is fastened to the wood with fourteen silver screws; the inner mouldings and the outer one are gilded; the silver weighs six marks, five ounces and one lot, valued today at thirty-eight thousand and four hundred *réis*".

177 Guerra, 1954: 105-106. Translation: "another sheet of embossed silver with Our Lady of Grace raised in the middle with two gilt brass mouldings, said sheet being octagonal in shape two palms wide with an Angel incensing our lady and the Infant Jesus; it is fastened to the wood with sixteen screws of which four are missing; valued in its current condition at twenty thousand *réis*".

178 Guerra, 1954: 16, 68. Although the 1768 rules of procedure for the woodcarving craftsmen refers to the imperial beds as completely carved, the term seems to relate to the frame of the canopy, which Silva Nascimento notes is curved in shape, cf. Silva, 1950: 94. In the inventories, the term is invariably applied to the bed and the furnishings, such as "*um catre de marca grande para vestir com grade e ferragem para imperial*" (a *catre* to be dressed with a frame and mounts for an imperial bed) that belonged to the Count of Ponte in 1785, ANTT, Feitos Findos, Inventários post mortem, Letra C, mç. 82, n.º 6, fl. 91v, or "*Hum leito para vestir, para a cama imperial, com pés de pao-santo, taboa da cabeceira liza, todas as mais peças de madeira do Brazil, e a ferragem cabeças e escudetes de metal dourado*" (A bedstead, to be dressed as an imperial bed, with *pau-santo* legs, smooth headboard, all other pieces in Brazilian wood and gilt mounts), ANTT, Condes de Linhares, mç. 93, doc. 6, *Mapa de todo o móvel que o Illmo e Exmo Snr Embaixador levou para Madrid, onde chegou no dia 6 de Março de 1775 e do mais que se comprou ao seu antecessor, como consta da avaliação junta*.

179 Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, número de inventário 4106. Inventory file available at http://www.matriznet.dgpc.pt/MatrizNet/Objectos/ObjectosConsultar.aspx?IdReg=991810I. The coats of arms on the other fabrics were totally or partially destroyed and on eight portières the original coat of arms has been covered by that of the marquises of Valença. These are identified as nine portières, a canopy or backrest (?) cloth, door or bed valances (?), cushions and tablecloths (?). PNA Inv. 4105, 4106, 4107, 165-170, 3019 and 3021.

180 See the chapter by Maria João Ferreira.

181 See the chapter by Teresa Vale.

182 See the chapter by Hugo Xavier.

183 ANTT, Feitos Findos, Inventários post mortem, Letra D, maço 63, nº 5, *Autos de exibição do testamento do Duque de Aveiro D. Gabriel de Lencastre Ponce de León Manrique de Lara Cardenas Aragon e Giron*, fl. 780v. Also see the chapter by Joan Castaño García.

184 ANTT, Feitos Findos, Inventários post mortem, Letra D, maço 63, nº 5, *Autos de exibição do testamento do Duque de Aveiro D. Gabriel de Lencastre Ponce de León Manrique de Lara Cardenas Aragon e Giron*, fls. 780v and 781. Translation: "An ebony bed with a railing garnished with silver sheet and four cypresses also of silver with silver apples and pine combs, six bouquets of flowers, also of silver, with pine combs of silver sheet, and twelve branches with a silver acorn, the balusters garnished with silver ties and topped with four bouquet finials with fruit = Bed furnishings of smooth crimson velvet consisting of a headcloth of white satin lined with holland, four curtains also lined with white satin and a canopy in the same white satin, with upper valances around the three entrances to the bed and in the same velvet, and a counterpane in the same velvet, all decorated with gold braid, and several silver rings and ties on the curtains // the curtain ties are made of the same velvet = Three curtain doors of smooth crimson velvet, and upper valances of the same velvet, garnished with gold braid, and upper valances of *barambazes* = six small walnut stools covered with crimson velvet and garnished with gold braid, and gilt brass nails, with red *serafina* covers."

185 See the documentation on the restoration undertaken in Elche transcribed in the chapter by Joan Castaño García.

186 Monteiro, 1998: 355-357.

187 Monteiro, 1998: 356.

188 ANTT, Ministério do Reino, maço 718.

189 ANTT, Tribunal da Boa Hora, Fundo Cível Antigo de Lisboa, 6ª vara – 3ª secção, processo 54, cx. 1, n.º 1, *Inventário dos bens q. ficarão por fallecimento do Ex.mo Duque do Cadaval D. Nuno Caetano Alveres Pereira de Melo. Inventariante a Duquesa Viúva. Órfãos Belem. 1851/1854*, and annexes. My sincerest gratitude to the Director of the ANTT, Mr. Silvestre Lacerda, and Ms. Anabela Ribeiro for permission to consult these documents as part of this research project by Parques de Sintra - Monte da Lua / National Palace of Sintra, which recently acquired the Cadaval bed for their collections, and Ms. Sónia Domingues for her respective assistance. I would also like to thank the then Director of the Palace, Ms. Inês Ferro, for her support in liaising with the ANTT to enable access to the inventory.

190 ANTT, Tribunal da Boa Hora, Fundo Cível Antigo de Lisboa, 6ª vara – 3ª secção, processo 54, cx. 1, n.º 1, *Inventário dos bens q. ficarão por fallecimento do Ex.mo Duque do Cadaval D. Nuno Caetano Alveres Pereira de Melo. Inventariante a Duquesa Viúva. Órfãos Belem. 1851/1854*, fls. 519v and 520.

191 ANTT, Tribunal da Boa Hora, Fundo Cível Antigo de Lisboa, 6ª vara – 3ª secção, processo 54, cx. 1, n.º 1, *Inventário dos bens q. ficarão por fallecimento do Ex.mo Duque do Cadaval D. Nuno Caetano Alveres Pereira de Melo. Inventariante a Duquesa Viúva. Órfãos Belem. 1851/1854*,fl. 655v. The valuation is repeated in fl. 1522.

192 ANTT, Tribunal da Boa Hora, Fundo Cível Antigo de Lisboa, 6ª vara – 3ª secção, processo 54, cx. 1, n.º 1, *Inventário dos bens q. ficarão por fallecimento do Ex.mo Duque do Cadaval D. Nuno Caetano Alveres Pereira de Melo. Inventariante a Duquesa Viúva. Órfãos Belem. 1851/1854*,fl. 637.

193 ANTT, Tribunal da Boa Hora, Fundo Cível Antigo de Lisboa, 6ª vara – 3ª secção, processo 54, cx. 1, n.º 1, Apenso 11.

194 Fernández Bayton, 1975: 294.

195 Fernández Bayton, 1975: 338.

196 Fernández Bayton, 1975: 339.

197 The fondness for silver-garnished beds continued in the reigns of Carlos IV and Fernando VII. See Nieva Soto, 2007: 243-260.

198 Heredia Moreno, 2008: 270 and 282.

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"garnished entirely with embossed silver"

THE SILVERWORK ON THE STATE BED IN THE NATIONAL PALACE OF SINTRA:

ORNAMENT AND ICONOGRAPHY

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Preliminary note

Given that furniture is not my field of expertise, it would be unreasonable to expect this text to focus on the so-called "Cadaval Bed" as an exceptional household object, which undoubtedly it is. I will therefore limit myself to the silver, or, in other words, to that part which relates to the silver ornamentation, or silversmithery, a field of the decorative arts to which I have devoted my research in recent years.

The aim will be to decipher the ornamental language of the bed's silverwork – the choice of motifs and their morphology and plasticity – and to explain and interpret the iconographic programme underlying the decoration on the object, which is currently part of the National Palace of Sintra collections (inventory no. PNS6207).[1]

Contextualizing the object

To say that nothing is known about the so-called Cadaval bed is certainly a bold claim, but as far as the early history of the object is concerned it is accepted as fact.[2] Indeed, based on the present state of research, we know little about the precise moment it was made, although, in morphological and stylistic terms, its dating can be placed to between the last quarter of 17th century and the early 18th century, as other authors have already established.[3] Little is also known about the identity of the person who commissioned it and even less about the person who created it, though it is plausible to consider that it was made in Portugal.[4]

As far as we now know, the association of the house of Cadaval with the name of the object dates back to at least the 1950s when it was owned by the Marquise Olga de Cadaval (Olga Maria Nicolis di Robilant Álvares Pereira de Melo, 1900-1996).[5] However, it is unknown how long it was in the family's possession or if anyone connected to the family was responsible for commissioning and/or acquiring it. It is thanks to the research of Celina Bastos[6] that it is now possible to affirm that the bed's silver garnish was certainly entailed to the house of the dukes of Cadaval at an early date, featuring in an inventory from 1840 as just such an asset.

What we know for sure is that, while exceptional, this piece of state furniture was certainly not unique. Sufficient documentary sources (handwritten and printed) have come down to us, if not the objects themselves, to attest to the existence of an ecosystem of state beds that were very similar in type to the one that remained in the possession of the house of Cadaval until the first half of the 20th century.[7]

Recent research by art historian Celina Bastos clearly reveals the existence of two beds mentioned in the context of the detailed report and lists produced for the two royal palaces (Ribeira and Alcântara) at the time of the marriage of Maria Francisca Isabel de Sabóia-Nemours to Afonso VI in 1666. Both beds were embellished with silver, as clearly mentioned in the documentation: "*hum Leito de Evano,* ***todo guarneçido de prata branca, e dourada***" (an Ebony Bed **garnished entirely with white silver and silver gilt)** and "[um] *de Evano,* ***guarneçido todo de prata branca***" (an Ebony bed **garnished entirely with white silver)**[8] (my bold).

A few years later, in 1670, regarding the baptism of Princess Isabel Luísa Josefa (1669-1690), eldest daughter of the then Prince Regent Pedro and Maria Francisca Isabel of Savoy-Nemours, the Spaniard Diego Enríquez de Villegas (Diogo Henrique de Vilhegas in Portuguese)[9] wrote a detailed description of a bed with clear similarities to the one under analysis here, even though ivory was an additional ornamental component.[10] It is highly likely, as contemporary descriptions suggest, that this is the same bed used a few years later, on 19 November 1689, for the baptism of Prince João, the future King João V, son of the same Pedro (now King Pedro II) and his second wife, Queen Maria Sofia Isabel of Neuburg. Indeed, in

addition to the manuscript then in the possession of the Viscount of Lagos, referred to in 1950 by J. F. da Silva Nascimento,[11] the *Relação e forma de como se Bautizou o Serenissimo Principe D. João Nosso Senhor que Deos guarde, filho delRey D. Pedro 2°*, housed in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, also mentions:

> ... and on the Gospel side, under the arch, were **four twisted ebony balusters covered with silver foliage**, on which stood a rich bed with braided cloth of gold and blue with orphrey edging, and higher valances in another cloth, displaying gold escarpments, and wide gold fringes all upholstered in primavera and abundant gold; **four silver bouquets crowned the balusters**, like the balusters on the baptismal font, on which stood four figures, and on the bed were three matching cushions in the form of a closed curtain ...[12] (my bold).

Very close chronologically to the first mention of the state bed used in the baptism ceremonies for the then crown princess in 1670 is the reference to another similar one. This appears in the inventory of assets conducted in 1673 after the death of the first Marquise of Fronteira, Madalena de Castro (wife of the 1st marquis, João Mascarenhas). The inventory reads as follows: ... item consisting **of a blackwood bed with a headboard garnished entirely with embossed silver with four posts and fifteen bouquets** and five figures, one of which is larger with a gilt coat of arms in its hand with some stones enchased on the wider sections of the headboard all of whose silver was seen and valued in contrast, as mentioned in the certificate attached, at five hundred thousand *reis*. [13] (my bold).

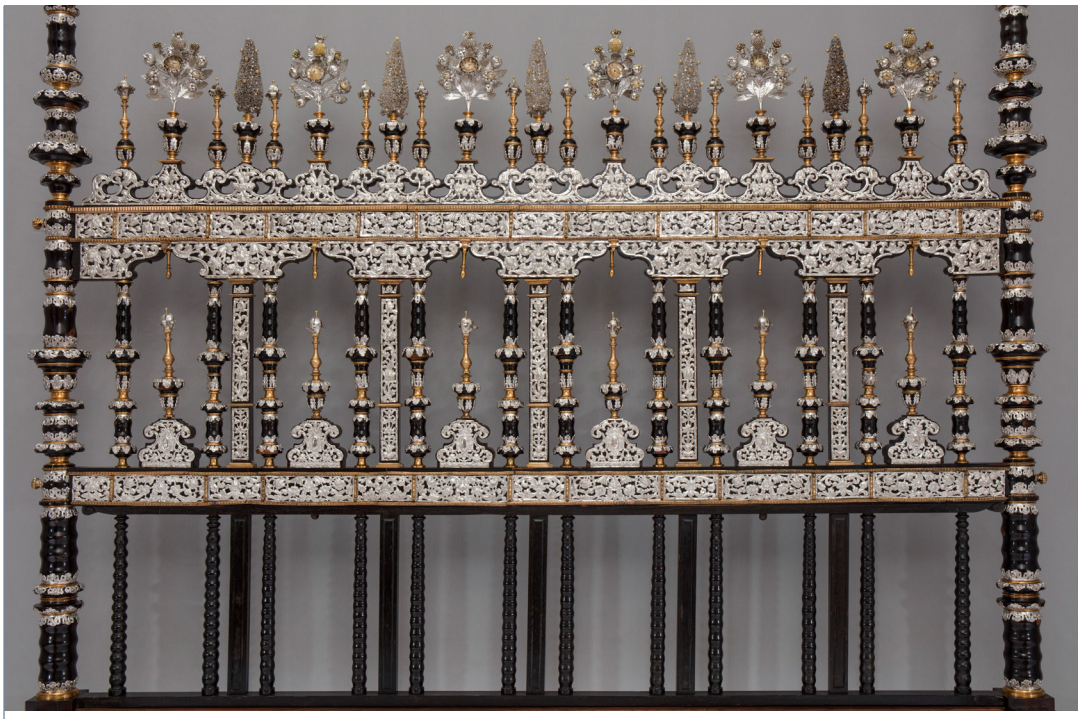
Although the incorporation of decorative ivory elements is not mentioned, this example belonging to the Marquises of Fronteira includes "embossed silver" and fifteen "bouquets", in addition to figures and enchased stones.

Other examples certainly existed in the houses of the kingdom's high aristocracy, among which that of the counts of Sarzedas, mentioned once again in an inventory from 1701 conducted after the death of the Countess Inácia de Noronha (wife of the 3rd Count, Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira Silva e Teles) in October 1700. This refers to a bed garnished with embossed silver with figures holding coats of arms, bouquets and birds.[14] The 1753 inventory of the seized assets of the Távora family, forfeited for very well-known reasons, also describes a similar bed, as Bernardo Ferrão de Tavares e Távora reveals in the only monograph ever written about the piece in question.[15]

Added to these beds is a state piece belonging to Bishop Luís de Sousa (1637-1690), Portuguese ambassador to Rome between 1676 and 1682. The Palazzo Poli, where he resided during his diplomatic mission to the Pontifical city, housed a bed of "Ébano com ***engaste de prata obra de folhage*** *os remates das grades e dos balaústres levão* ***ramalhetes do mesmo***" (Ebony with **enchased silver, foliage** and **similar bouquets** crowning the headboard and balusters)[16] (my bold).

Among the objects that can still be found and studied is another bed very similar to the one analysed here. Although also of Portuguese origin, it currently resides in Spain in the Basilica of Santa María de Elche. This piece was bequeathed to the church by the Duke of Aveiro (and Marquis of Elche), Gabriel de Lencastre Ponce de León Manrique de Lara Cardenas Giron e Aragão (1667-1745), arriving there in 1753 to serve as the bed for the Dormition of the Mother of God, a ceremony celebrated with particular devotion in Elche.[17] Its purpose, by dint of a will, was therefore converted from a state bed designed for a specific role within a residence into a ceremonial bed for a particular religious role.

The Elche bed is therefore an essential source of parallels, comparison and context for the object under analysis. Very probably Portuguese in style, this bed was subject to conservation and restoration work, the first instance of which – as far as the main focus here of the silverwork is concerned – dates back to its arrival in Spain. However, this work was limited to replacing occasional parts, repairing small damages and cleaning the silver, a process undertaken by José Calvo and Francisco Galbis,[18] silversmiths from Alicante and Elche, respectively. The latter issued a receipt for his services dated 29 August 1754.[19]



[fig. 1]
General view of the bed's headboard. National Palace of Sintra.
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The silver ornamentation on the state bed in the National Palace of Sintra

The ornamental silverwork on the bed now housed in the National Palace of Sintra collections is mainly located on the headboard [fig. 1] and was made using two techniques:

1) ronde bosse pieces made entirely of metal in the form of cypresses and groups of flowers and fruits arranged alternately with wooden elements [fig. 2];

2) embossed plates (chiselled and repoussé silver leaf, made with a stencil, with traces of the drawing marks still visible) on the wood on the lower part of the headboard and on other turned wooden elements [fig. 3, 4].



[fig. 2]
Partial view of the bed's headboard. Upper section. National Palace of Sintra.
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It should be noted that this form of decoration does not involve completely covering the wood with silver, as seen on what is normally termed silver furniture found in various European royal collections (e.g. the French, British, Dutch, German and Danish),[20] but rather an intermittent application over a substantial section of the wood.

This intermittent application of the silver, connected to the wood but never completely covering it, creates a bichrome quality, an identifiable feature of other fields of Portuguese Baroque decoration from the late 1600s and early 1700s, in particular. From tiles to stonework and the interlinking of stone elements with plastered masonry surfaces, there are abundant examples of the use of bichromy in Portuguese baroque architecture.

This chromatic alternation – intrinsically generating a decorative rhythm – also has a lighting effect. Since the wood and silver do not have identical reflective properties, this creates a dynamic chiaroscuro. The cleaning of the silver elements emphasises this lighting contrast, with the shine underlining the brightness of the silver on the dark wood.



[fig. 3]
Headboard. Embossed silver plates. Detail.
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[fig. 4]
Headboard. Embossed silver plates. Detail.
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The polished, textured and partially gilded silver provides the object with a gleam while contributing to the effect of lavishness and sumptuousness (which the use of a precious metal for part of the ornamentation confers) that is both desirable and entirely suited to a piece of state furniture.

As far as the ornamental language of the silverwork is concerned, it was chosen at the time of the Empire of Flora and incorporates a whole set of floral elements – trees, flowers, fruits and leaves – that I shall attempt to identify below.

Underlying the choice of plant and floral elements is an iconographic programme which was not, I believe, correctly identified and interpreted by the authors who studied what was then known as the Cadaval bed. Thus, in 1972, Bernardo Ferrão de Tavares e Távora recognised the predominantly vegetal character of the bed's silver decoration and identified a "*mascarão vegetalista*" (vegetal grotesque),

anemones and tulips with curved stems, voluted branches, cypresses, and bouquets of flowers (sunflowers) and fruits (pomegranates).[21]

In parallel, in 1991, Joan Castaño García identified pomegranates, acorns and cypresses[22] on the bed in the Basilica of Santa María de Elche – which, as noted, is accepted to be the nearest surviving example to the so-called Cadaval bed – to which he added touch-me-nots in 2018. All of these motifs were considered "*elementos simbólicos del sueño y de la muerte*" (symbolic elements of dreams and death), albeit "*igualmente evocadores de las ideas de vida, resurrección e inmortalidad*" (also evocative of the ideas of life, resurrection and immortality).[23]

However, my analysis of the decorative silver elements on the so-called Cadaval bed leads me to a different view and, consequently, a different interpretation of the bed's iconographic programme. First, it seems imperative to affirm that the bed in question is an objet d'art and cannot be regarded, as far as the ornamental component is concerned, as a treatise on botany. What I mean by this is that the representations of the plant species, which I will examine below, are artistic in nature rather than scientifically accurate botanical depictions.

When it came to executing the silverwork, the approach adopted was artistic rather than scientific, even if the artist may have had the opportunity to observe some species, or accurate representations thereof, directly. Consequently, the silver ornamentation on the bed in the National Palace of Sintra should be regarded as the result of an effort to balance scientific accuracy with creative freedom, to a greater or lesser degree.

Therefore, in addition to the more or less indistinct vegetal decorative solutions, such as scrolls or voluted branches or foliage, whose function is to cover/fill and can be seen in the embossed plates (also featuring vegetal grotesques, which I shall examine in more detail below) and the silver detailing on the spindles, urns and wooden vases, various floral elements can be specifically identified on the headboard.[24] However, it was only possible to establish a high phenotypical correlation with two species. The other representations of flowers and fruits are less accurate, allowing identification of the taxonomic family only.



[fig. 5]
Headboard. Cypress.
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[fig. 6]
Headboard. Cypress. Detail.
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The central element of the headboard is the Mediterranean cypress (*Cupressus sempervirens*). It is represented on a small scale with a geometric crown that stands out against the adjacent elements and at least nine visible cones (seeds) [fig. 5, 6].

In addition to the tree's ornamental function, reference must also be made to its symbolic significance. From a broad perspective, the cypress has been associated

symbolically with death since pagan times.[25] In Christianity, it is associated with the martyrdom of the saints, the Virgin Mary, Christ (the cypress was one of the four types of wood used to make the cross of the crucifixion) and the Church. This is very probably due to its shape, which guides and points upwards to the heavens.[26] However, the general association of the cypress with death does not prevent its use in iconographical representations of auspicious moments, such as the Annunciation. Therefore, we can see various cypresses in the highly celebrated artwork *Annunciation* by Leonardo Da Vinci (1452-1519), completed between 1472 and 1475 and housed in the collections of the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence, and in the other earlier (ca. 1457), but less well-known, work of the same name by Alesso Baldovinetti (1425-1499), also housed in the same museum in Florence.

However, in an approach to the object that is not purely chronological but also geographical, a contemporary Portuguese source deserves particular attention precisely due to its close dating (1698) with what we believe to be the period when the bed in question was made. In *Tratado das Significaçoens das Plantas, Flores, e Fruttos, que se Referem na Sagrada Escrittura tiradas de divinas, e humanas letras, com suas breves considerações* (*Treatise on the Meaning of the Plants, Flowers and Fruits Cited in the Holy Scriptures taken from divine and human letters, with brief observations*), Friar Isidoro de Barreira, "*Religioso da Sagrada Ordem de Christo*" (A Brother of the Scared Order of Christ), asserts that the attribute of the Mediterranean cypress is "incorruptibility", stemming from its evergreen nature and the great height to which it grows (around 30 metres). By drawing closer to God, it is consequently incorruptible by earthly vices.[27]

Flanking the representations of the cypress are eleven small groups (of two types) of flowers and fruits (corresponding to the bouquets, referred to by the authors who previously studied the piece). These are similar to those one might ordinarily find in the flowerbeds of a garden [fig. 7, 8, 9]. All twenty-two flowerbeds have a small cluster of fruit from the pomegranate tree (*Punica granatum*). The fruit is actually the red berries found inside the pomegranate. The location of this element at the top of the floral arrangement may refer to the arboreal stature of the species or, on the other hand, allude to the result of the union of two people, an interpretation I shall return to later.



[fig. 7]
Canopy frame. Group of flower and fruits.
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[fig. 8]
Headboard. Group of flower and fruits.
© PSML | Photo: João Krull, 2019



[fig. 9]
Headboard. Group of flower and fruits. Detail.
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From a symbolic point of view, the pomegranate has been associated with love and fertility from classical times and is a specific attribute of Venus. Christianity then added the Resurrection to its symbolism, when appearing in the hand of the Baby Jesus, and the chastity of Mary, when held by the Virgin, in an allusion to a passage from the Song of Solomon.[28]

The shape of the pomegranate, enclosing the tightly packed berries behind a thick skin, gave rise to numerous symbolic interpretations, of which prosperity, fertility and fruitfulness gained particular favour among authors.[29] The fruit also expresses the idea of "concord" or the "union of wills", which explains its association with the allegory of Concord in Cesare Ripa's *Iconology* (appearing in the first illustrated edition of the book, printed in 1603).[30] The eloquence of Friar Isidoro de Barreira's text justifies the inclusion of the following passage:

> [The pomegranate] signifies everything to do with conformity, concord & the union of wills; for so many grains are united & conform inside the Pomegranate, all of the same proportions, all with a single colour & very similar to one another: like hearts & wills that are united & together shall conform to make one body & a mystical Republic, conserved in a single being & not differing at all.[31]

A less frequent addition to the bouquets were carnations (*Dianthus* sp.), which can be seen in pairs in some flowerbeds at what seems to be an early stage of flowering. The carnation, a symbol of matrimonial fidelity during the Renaissance,[32] does not feature in Friar Isidoro de Barreira's work. However, we can base our interpretation on the symbolism the author generally associates with flowers in his initial "*Considerações*" (Observations), i.e. "esperança" (hope), "mocidade" (youthfulness) and "esperança em Deus" (hope in God).[33]

The other floral elements that Bernardo Ferrão de Tavares e Távora identified – sunflowers (*Helianthus* sp), buttercups (*Ranunculus* sp) and anemones (*Anemone* sp) – are not characteristic of their species.[34] However, their less accurate portrayal raises them to the taxonomic level of family, i.e. *Asteraceae*, *Ranunculaceae* and *Passifloraceae*.

As far as the representation and arrangement of these floral elements is concerned, it should be noted that they may have varied over time. However,

even bearing in mind the various possibilities considered,[35] I think the following can be affirmed: the central motif of the composition is the cypress, as if the headboard were a garden organised around the presence of this tree. The clusters of flowers and fruits come together with the trees in this garden, punctuating and enlivening their space. The whole ensemble replicates and mirrors a private flower garden designed for the pleasure of its owners. The garden is neatly trimmed according to the rules of topiary, an art form dear to the period, clearly expressed in the geometric layout of the cypress in the middle.

In this topiarian rigour, freedom and vigour clash, attributed to the herbaceous species (carnations) and shrubs (pomegranate) in the flowerbeds represented in varying states of flowering and fructification.

The vegetal grotesques at regular intervals along the lower section of the headboard can also be interpreted, with some leeway and in this particular context, as representations of the winds, whose blowing fleshy lips are responsible for the undulating curvature of the nearby flower stems. A common ornamental feature of this period, the grotesque appeared in multiple situations and contexts. Of interest – for its undeniable similarity to those on the bed in the National Palace of Sintra and also its clear association with Isabel Luísa Josefa, whose baptism bed was mentioned above – is the grotesque decorating the small side table beside the princess's bed. This engraving is by Nicolas Bazin (1633-1710) and is part of the collections of Queen Elizabeth II[36] [fig. 10].

Furthermore, it seems particularly important to mention the clear predominance of female reproductive organs (style and stigma), represented by blossoming flowers, located on the upper and lower tiers of the headboard [fig. 11, 12], and various newly formed fruits at the top of the backrest (pomegranates) [fig. 13]. It is the author's view that this choice of representation is quite clearly related to the symbolic perception of this bed as a place of conception and fruitful birth.

The composition also features acanthus leaves (*Acanthus* sp., possibly *mollis*), on which the couple would lie on the garden floor, ideally in the heat of the spring/summer/autumn months when these colourful and perfumed flowers and fruits



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[fig. 10]

Isabel Luísa Josefa of Bragança, Infanta of Portugal, Princess of Beira

Engraving by Nicolas Bazin (1633-1710), after 1690.
Inscription: "ISABELLE INFANTE DE PORTUGAL. decedée a Lisbonne le 21. Octobre 1690, agée de 22. ans"
Signature: "Gravé par Bazin"

RCIN 606921

Image courtesy of The Royal Collection Trust



[fig. 11]
Detail of a flower. Headboard.
© PSML | Photo: João Krull, 2019



[fig. 13]
Detail of the pomegranates. Headboard.
© PSML | Photo: João Krull, 2019



[fig. 12]
Detail of a flower. Headboard.
© PSML | Photo: João Krull, 2019

would be at their height. The couple would thus be transported into an imaginary garden where they would come together – according to Christian dictates, naturally – to create the desired offspring, which in the context of royalty or aristocracy had, as we know, particular importance, signifying the very survival of the family and its role and social status.

Bearing in mind the above, it is my belief that the flowers and fruits depicted on the bed's silverwork clearly convey an entire discourse alluding to values stretching from love and dedication, associated with sexual intimacy, to fertility and birth. Therefore, it seems right to interpret this piece of furniture as a state bed associated with moments of joy and happiness, such as the birth of a child – a situation naturally welcomed and acclaimed given its place in the continuity of a family's lineage and succession. This is of particular bearing if we consider that the owners of beds of this kind that we know of were 17th and 18th-century Portuguese aristocratic families.

Given the similarities between the Elche bed to the bed in question here, I must therefore disagree with the association of its plant species with sleep and death, or any similar interpretation of the iconography on the bed in the National Palace of Sintra.

Indeed, of all the species identified, only the cypress has any connection with the symbolism of death. However, as seen, this perspective of its symbolic significance is too limited, since the tree's fruit is also associated with the Virgin Mary, i.e. the supreme mother figure – the mother of the Son of God.

To underline this interpretation further, consider the related beds mentioned in the sources, and the one alluded to above: that described in *Pyramide Natalicia e Baptismal* by Diego Enríquez de Villegas used for the baptism of Princess Isabel Luísa Josefa in 1669. This was very probably also used for the baptism of the future King João V around twenty years later, as mentioned in the Viscount of Lagos' manuscript referred to by Silva Nascimento in 1950.

In both cases, these beds welcomed the heirs to the Portuguese royal family – received with all the relief and jubilation arising from the assurance of dynastic succession, whatever the circumstances. Also associated with the sacrament of baptism, which each of the aforementioned princes and princesses would have received, these beds were therefore a place of birth, since it is through baptism that a Christian becomes the son of God and thus is truly born. It is this symbolism that the trees, flowers and fruits in the silver decoration on the bed in the National Palace of Sintra eloquently portray.

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NOTES

1 This text would not have been possible without the invaluable contribution of our colleague Ana Maria Costa (a biologist and PhD student in art history) from ARTIS-Instituto de História da Arte, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa who we gratefully acknowledge and without whom our study would be infinitely less rich and far less precise. Her generous involvement extended far beyond the mere identification of the plant species represented and was decisive in deciphering the iconography and interpreting the object presented herein.

2 Its more recent history has been thoroughly examined by Hugo Xavier elsewhere in this catalogue.

3 Of the few authors who have studied the Cadaval bed, the following stand out: Santos, 1953: III, 381; Távora, 1972: 9-28.

4 Although in the caption to an illustration (Figure 1) Távora (1972: p. 16-17) considers it a "*Trabalho híbrido, possivelmente executado por artifices indianos na metrópole ou por portugueses na Índia*" ("A hybrid work, possibly executed by Indian artisans in Portugal or by Portuguese in India"), the clear similarities with other contemporary silver objects lead us to conclude that it is in fact Portuguese in origin.

5 Santos, 1953: III, 381.

6 See her chapter in this publication.

7 The piece was later sold (first in Portugal and then in Britain), passing through the hands of antique dealers (in Porto and, later, Lisbon) and also private citizens, namely Augusto de Athayde, who installed it in his Lisbon residence in Rua do Alecrim. See Távora, 1972, and Athayde, 1986: II, 236-237.

8 Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP), Secção de Reservados, Fundo Geral, Cód. 4173 (*Do Governo de Portugal. Das Casas dos Reys e das Rainhas*), fl. 234 and fl. 77, quoted by Bastos, 2018: 99; see also Bastos, 2003: 204-207.

9 As mentioned by Machado, 1741: 659. This native-born Portuguese was a knight and commander of the Order of Christ and spent his entire life in the service of the Spanish crown. Unable to fight due to injuries suffered in battle, he devoted his life to writing treatises, particularly on military themes and the education of princes.

10 See Villegas, 1670: 94.

11 Nascimento, 1950: 45.

12 Biblioteca da Ajuda (BA), Ms 51-VI-42, fl. 44v., published by Ferreira, 2011: Vol. II, 206-208. Original quotation: "*... e da parte do Evangelho, debaixo do arco, ficavão levantados quatro balaustes de pao de evano, retrocidos todos cubertos de folhages de prata, em que estava hũa rica cama de tela repassada de oiro, e azul com sabastos em roda e sanefas de outra tela mais levantada, com penhascos de oiro, e grandes franjões de oiro forrada toda de hũa primavera de cores e muito oiro e por remate dos balaustes quatro ramalhetes de prata, que tambem os tinha os remates dos balaustes da pia com quatro figuras em cima de prata, e dentro da cama estavão tres almofadas irmans da mesma cama que fazia forma de cortina serrada ...*".

13 Lisbon, 2 November 1673, published by Mesquita, 1992: II, 45-46. Original quotation: "*item hum leito de pao preto a grade toda gornecida de prata lavrada de relevado e os quatro pilares e tem quinze ramalhetes e sinco feguras huma dellas maior com hum escudo de armas doirado na mão com algumas pedras engastadas nas larguras da grade cuja prata toda foi vista e avaleada pelo contraste como consta de sua certidão adiante junta em quinhentos mil reis*". Arquivo da Fundação das Casas de Fronteira e Alorna (AFCFA), *Inventário e partilhas que se fizerão por morte e falecimento da Senhora Donna Magdalena de Castro Marqueza de Fronteira e se fizerão e contenuou com o Senhor Dom João Mascarenhas Marques de Fronteira viuvo que da dita Senhora ficou.*

14 Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), *Feitos Findos*, Inventários, Letra J, Maço 332, nº. 17, *Inventario de bens que ficarao por faleçimento da Senhora condessa de Sarzedas, Donna Ignaçia de Noronha o qual se continuou com o Conde seu marido Dom Rodrigo da Silveira Silva Telles* (1701), fl. 8v. referred to by Bastos, 2018: 99.

15 See Távora, 1972: 23.

16 BA, Ms. 54-XI-36, no. 95, fl. 5, cited by Vale, 2005: 167; see also Vale, 2006: 32.

17 See Castaño García, 1991, and Castaño García, 2018.

18 Probably Francisco Galbis Fauquet (1713–1782), member of an important family of master silversmiths, who became a member ("*Apoderado*") of the Colegio de Plateros (silversmiths' guild) in Elche in 1753 and 1756 and master "*de Plata*" of the kingdom of Valencia from 27 November 1741. See Cañestro Donoso, 2017: 46, 73.

19 See Castaño García, 1991: 7, and Castaño García's chapter in this publication.

20 As perfectly illustrated by the exhibition *Quand Versailles était meublé d'argent* in 2008 at the Palace of Versailles. See the respective catalogue: Saule/Arminjon, 2008.

21 See Távora, 1972: 12-14, above all.

22 See Castaño García, 1991: 18.

23 See the chapter written by Castaño García elsewhere in this publication.

24 The correct identification and interpretation of the floral elements owed to the decisive contribution of our colleague Ana Maria Costa, to whom we have already referred and reiterate our gratitude.

25 See Ferguson, 1961: 30.

26 See Impelluso, 2004: 69.

27 See Barreira, 1698: 119-123.

28 "Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits" (Song of Solomon 4:13), King James Version of the Holy Bible. On this symbolism, see *Madonna of the Pomegranate*, ca. 1487, by Sandro Botticelli (1445-1510) in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

29 See Barreira, 1698: 131-137; see also Ferguson, 1961: 37, Impelluso, 2004: 145-148; and also Chevalier, Gheerbrandt, 1992: 485.

30 See Ripa, 1992: 65-66.

31 Barreira, 1698: 131. Original quotation: "*Significa se nella* [romã] *tudo o que diz conformidade, concordia, & união de vontades; porque assim como tantos grãos estão unidos, & conformes dentro da Romã, crescendo todos igualmente em suas proporções, tendo todos huma cor, & parecendo se muito huns com os outros: assim os corações, & vontades que se unem, & conformão, todas juntas, fazendo hum corpo, & huma mystica Republica, conservando se em hum ser, & não diferençando em nada*."

32 Cazenave, 1996: 496.

33 See Barreira, 1698: 16-24.

34 See Távora, 1972: 12-14.

35 Of which deserving of mention is the one that envisages the potential inclusion of the larger branch finials at the top of the bed posts.

36 This engraving was brought to our attention by Fernando Montesinos, curator at the National Palace of Sintra, to whom we express our gratitude.

HANDRWITTEN SOURCES

ARQUIVO DA FUNDAÇÃO DAS CASAS DE FRONTEIRA E ALORNA, Lisbon

Inventário e partilhas que se fizerão por morte e falecimento da Senhora Donna Magdalena de Castro Marqueza de Fronteira e se fizerão e contenuou com o Senhor Dom João Mascarenhas Marques de Fronteira viuvo que da dita Senhora ficou. Lisbon, 2 November 1673.

ARQUIVO NACIONAL DA TORRE DO TOMBO, Lisbon

Feitos Findos, Inventários, Letra J, Mç. 332. N.º 17, *Inventario de bens que ficarao por faleçimento da Senhora condessa de sarzedas, Donna Ignaçia de Noronha o qual se continuou com o Conde seu marido Dom Rodrigo da Silveira Silva Telles* (1701).

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AMID THE "BED DRESSINGS" (17TH-18TH CENTURIES)

BACK TO CONTENTS

Preamble

For its size, quality of materials and rarity in the context of Portuguese heritage – alongside the fact that it represents one of the more unusual types of Portuguese beds from the mid-17th to early 18th century – the "Cadaval Bed", as it is known, stands out as an exceptional example of furniture designed for rest and relaxation.[1]

During this period, beds were the most complex pieces of household furniture. They involved an impressive array of parts and in particular a set of textile furnishings which literally appropriated the wooden structure and best represented the ensemble which we all still know today as a "bed". In fact, the word "bed" comprises not only the wooden frame or bedstead but also a whole paraphernalia of bed linens, mattresses, hangings and decorations.[2]

As part of a broad and interdisciplinary study such as this one, it befalls us here to analyse this textile element. However, unlike the bedstead that still exists and shares similarities with other surviving examples, with which comparison can be made, the same does not apply to the respective furnishings, which have long since disappeared like most other contemporary examples in Portugal. This fact severely complicates any thorough attempt to recreate these complex ensembles, as far as the quantity and size of the dressings is concerned and the manner in which they combined, as other researchers have noted.[3] For that reason, rather than focusing on this case in particular, this chapter will examine the "*cama*[s] *de roupa*"[4] (bed dressings) that characterised the period associated with the

production and consumption of this type of bed by members of the Portuguese social elite, a theme which has received little attention to date. Therefore, contemporary documentary sources will be used even though they are difficult to work with given the complex information they contain (both abundant and simultaneously lacking or contradictory) and the way it is organised. However, they are essential when trying to understand the prominence and function of household furnishings in the early modern period.

Introduction

Furnishings were the most impressive sumptuous possessions in private domestic environments during the early modern period[5] and a very central feature of Roman Baroque interiors,[6] where they covered practically every surface. This seems to have applied in all European settings, Portugal included, and extended to more modest homes whose investment in this area was physical evidence of both the practical and symbolic importance of beds in the improving living conditions of the poorer classes.[7]

Textiles defined the nature and status of domestic interiors according to social rank.[8] As a whole, they were complex and sophisticated systems of communication and representation (of mores, norms and social and cultural rituals),[9] alongside structuring elements of the living space,[10] whose role far exceeded their more visible functional and ornamental purpose. The display of textile furnishings was equivalent, in effect, to a metaphorical gesture,[11] one that both expressed hierarchies and directed eyes to a certain ambience, enhancing the identity and prominence of all those involved. This was corroborated by the ceremonies of the Portuguese court, which, albeit "very modest and even austere" (*muito modesto e, até, austero*)[12] until the second half of the 1700s, were copied by the main noble houses.

In the context of what was "*um dos espaços âncora da residência*" (one of the most prominent rooms in a palatial house),[13] the bedchamber was decorated with different types of fabrics to enrich the environment. These included textile wall coverings, window curtains and portières (door curtains plus their respective valances), tablecloths, upholstery and covers on the chairs and other types of seat, floor carpets

and, naturally, bed furnishings. An insight into this world is provided by Tristão da Cunha (1655-1722), 1st Count of Povolide, with regard to the contents of his residence at the time of his wedding in 1697: "*Camara toda alcatifada com duas alcatifas, e armada de panos de Raz, cama de tella riqua, e franjões de oiro e assim as sanefas das portas e ginellas, e tamboretes e cortinas de damasco, e dois espelhos, e dois bofetes doirados*" (A fully carpeted chamber with two carpets, Arras cloth hangings, a richly dressed bed, with gold fringing, as well as valances on the doors and windows, damask stools and curtains, two mirrors, and two gilt tables)[14]. The textile decorations are not only abundant but highlighted, in the same way that the bed, a crucial element in characterising the decor and arrangement of the bedroom,[15] is described in terms of its furnishings and not strictly as a piece of furniture. This fact is hardly surprising given that people spent almost a third of their lives in bed and it was where some of the most important events took place, such as births and deaths, illness and convalescence, and marital relations. It was no accident, therefore, that the highest positions in the organisational structures of the royal household and other noble houses were those most closely linked to the intimate lives of their masters, such as the lord chamberlain.[16]

Following a certain colour and thematic scheme, the various components of a bed's furnishings comprised a set and therefore tended to adopt the same coordinated fabrics. In turn, an identical fabric to that of the bed, or one of a similar colour or decorative motif, was used to upholster the chairs, cover the tables and chairs, and decorate the walls.[17] Hence the use of the expressions "*do mesmo*" or "*irmãs*(ãos)" (matched, en-suite) in inventory descriptions and assessments of these systems, based on the use of a common set of fabrics.[18]

Greater awareness of the effects and consistent use of a colour scheme or fabric led to the concept of unified environments, so admired in domestic interiors in the 17th and especially 18th centuries, particularly in France.[19] For this *en suite* look, which translated into a harmonious and unified whole, the textile furnishings were crucial visual links when used in a comprehensive, coordinated and repeated way. This was first applied to one and then an enfilade of rooms, as Baroque ceremonial logic dictated – something only within the reach of the wealthiest. In this context, it should be noted that the royal palaces of Alcântara and Ribeira, which were in

need of major investment following the restoration of Portuguese independence in 1640 and the decades of war that marked the early decades of Bragança rule, were given new specially designed decorative programmes for the wedding of King Afonso VI (1643-1683) to Marie-Françoise of Savoie (1646-1683) in 1666.[20]

The bed dressings from the second half of the 17th to early 18th century

It is difficult to establish a template as far as the decorative textile scheme underpinning the respective beds are concerned. Many variables emerge from reading the inventories and other contemporary sources, resulting from the status and tastes of the owners, the hierarchy of the users, the types of beds in question and even the season. A good example are the "*tres quartos diferentes*" (three different chambers) which, in 1645, were prepared in the Marquis of Castelo Rodrigo's palace for the French ambassador to the Portuguese court, the Marquis of Rouillac, the ambassador's secretary and his *vedor*. The former was provided with an "*Alcoba recolhida cuberta com huns panos de Raz pequenos, com cercaduras, e franjas de retros obra particular. Leito de pao negro, com muitos bronzes dourados; e a cama de borcado de tres* altos, hũa, e outra *couza feita para esta occazião*" (Alcove bed covered with some small pieces of Arras cloth, with borders and silk thread fringing, of private manufacture. A blackwood bed with lots of gilt bronze; and the brocade bed of three heights, plus one or other object made for the occasion).[21] The brocade mentioned was also used for the upholstery for two and a half dozen chairs, the covers of the tables and a canopy arranged in two of the other rooms, clearly revealing the concern for the overall unity, as mentioned above. Intended for the secretary was an "*alcoba armada de panos de Raz bem finos, leito de pao negro com muitos bronzes dourados, Cama noua de setim Carmezim, com flores de couro*" (alcove bed dressed in very fine Arras cloth, a blackwood bed with lots of gilt bronze, and a new crimson satin bed with leather flowers), with "*terçio pello carmezim*" (crimson velvet) on the chairs and tables.[22] The same material was used on the chairs and tables in the rooms assigned to the inspector, who was expected to sleep on a "*leito de pao vestido de setim azul bordado com carocheo de ouro*" (wooden bed dressed in blue satin and

embroidered with gold *carocheo*).[23] It is clear to see that while the three bedrooms were furnished with tapestries and the type of bed provided for the ambassador and the secretary were identical – but different from that of the inspector (which was merely "wooden") – the same does not apply to the bed furnishings, whose quality of fabrics and colours differed from those used on the inspector's bed.

Both the surviving material evidence and representations of the "bed dressings" in 17th-century Portuguese paintings are rare, which differs from the preceding century, especially in the context of the theme of the *Annunciation*. This complicates the perception of what these ensembles would actually have looked like and how they really differed. Even so, it is possible to verify that the main components remained surprisingly constant over time, with only detail variations.[24] These related to the quality of the materials, finish and expense, as well as the quantity of drapery, which was fundamental to the hierarchical and social distinction of the owners and the level of comfort the beds provided.[25]

In this context, the Portuguese bed from the second half of the 17th and early 18th century, in its turned spindle form or decorated with gilt brass (described as "bronze") (in addition to those which were lacquered or decorated with mother of pearl from the Portuguese empire), essentially combined with the mattresses, the real basis of these ensembles, and a complex range of bed linens and other furnishings. These would have included, for example, sheets, bolsters and cushions, blankets, curtains, counterpanes and bedspreads, which are not always easy to distinguish between.[26]

As the reference to large, medium and small mattresses in inventories reveals,[27] they could vary in size, as well as in height, to suit the bed. In fact, Bernardo Ferrão points out that it was the very characteristic mattresses "*nos leitos seiscentistas que permitem definir-lhes as dimensões devidas a alteração posterior, ... quando a mecanização da tecelagem reduziu as larguras dos lençóis fabricados nos teares manuais*" (on beds from the 1600s that identified the latter, due to a later change ... when the mechanisation of weaving reduced the width of the sheets previously made on manual looms).[28]

A contemporary idea of a good trousseau for a member of the Portuguese aristocracy is provided by the inventory of assets conducted in 1659 at the time of the death of Mariana de Lancastre Vasconcelos e Câmara (ca. 1615-1698), Queen Maria Francisca's First Lady of the Bedchamber and wife of João Rodrigues de Vasconcelos e Sousa, 2nd Count of Castelo Melhor. Listed under "*roupa branca*" (white bed linen) are sixteen "*colchoens de pano de linho cheios de lam*" (linen mattresses filled with wool), some with seven seams and others with ten, i.e. "*a parte do colchão, que se levanta mais entre os cordeis*" (the highest part of the mattress between the cords),[29] valued, respectively, at two or three thousand *réis* each;[30] twenty-one "*lancoes de Olanda em folha de três ramos cada hum*" (new holland bed sheets of three cloths each) and sixty-one linen sheets, some "*em folha*" (unused) and others "do uzo" (used), of one and three cloths, in addition to those of fine linen, of a different number of ells (7 and 9) and, consequently, valuation. There was an immense diversity in the quality and size of the sheets (according to the dimensions of the mattresses), the best of which, of fine holland, were assigned to the beds of the lord and lady of the house. The number of sheets owned by a family was a firm indicator of its wealth.[31]

According to the same logic of variety, this list also includes eighteen holland bolsters with lace and fifty-eight holland half-bolsters with lace, in addition to wool fillings for eight half-bolsters and forty-two associated small pillows. Curiously, the bedspreads, made of fabric or enriched with embroidery and passementerie, are listed both under this item and that of "bed", i.e. the furnishings which complement these sets. Therefore, four "*toalha*[s] *de cobrir cama de tafeta*" (taffeta bed cover[s]) are listed under "*vestidos do Conde defunto e outras cousas e vestidos da Condeça*" (the dead Count's clothes and other objects and clothes belonging to the Countess).[32]

With regard to the bed hangings, they were above all mounted around and on the bedstead via more or less visible structures. These comprised a canopy, a varying number of curtains – between two to six – depending on the splendour of the bed, and a counterpane (though separate items could exist), which therefore combined with the respective decorative programme, as perfectly underlined by the anonymous painter of *Birth of St. Joana, Princess of Portugal* [fig. 1]. As regards the curtains, the most important element of the bed,[33] the headcloth stands out.



[fig. 1]
Birth of Princess Saint Joana of Portugal
Portugal, 17th-18th century

Museu de Aveiro
Inv. 392/A

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This was intended for the headboard and, unlike the other curtains, was fixed. Headcloths were often made of more lavish materials or were more profusely decorated, at times bearing the coat of arms of those who slept or received in them.[34] Ensembles with curtains like these could be found in royal palaces and some of the main noble houses. Two examples of this are King Afonso VI's bed, which had "*a fringed headcloth*" (*huma cortina de cabeceira de cama franjada*), and that of the 1st Marquis and Marquise of Fronteira. The latter's 1673 inventory, on the death of Madalena de Castro (ca. 1635-1673), lists "*huma cama de veludo cramezim sobre seo e seus cortinas rodapé e todas têm dois veludo excepto a cortina da cabeceira e hum doselinho do mesmo tudo novo gornecido de franjois e franjas de*



[fig. 2]
Birth of St. Dominic
António André, 17th century (first half)

Museu de Aveiro
Inv. 83/A

© DGPC | Photo: José Pessoa, 2003

oiro por ambas as partes" (furnishings of crimson velvet, a canopy with curtains and lower valances, all of two velvets, except for the headcloth and a small canopy all garnished with long and short gold fringes). The other curtains were attached by rings or hooks to rods fixed to the cornice and tops of the frame or hung from the ceiling or wall. These could be pulled up into pouches or pushed to the ends and tied to the respective posts, as seen in a painting of the birth of St. Dominic from around 1620 [fig. 2]. The bed would also have linen consisting of white sheets and, usually, a large number of bolsters.

In the 17th century, curtains continued to ensure the privacy and comfort of a bed's occupants, creating a more restricted space away from prying eyes and indiscretion, despite the trend towards setting aside specific rooms for rest, often along gender lines.[35] This led Francisco Manuel de Melo to make the following criticism in his *Guia de Casados* (Guide for Married Couples) published in 1651: "*Tem-se hoje por grandeza lavrar quartos e aposentos à parte, conservarem-se por toda a vida assim entre casados ... Vivam todos em todas as casas, maridos e mulheres; que o contrário certo, é abuso cheio de perigos*" (Today, for reasons of noble propriety, couples have separate chambers and apartments and do so throughout their married lives ... Let husbands and wives use every room; for otherwise risks will certainly ensue).[36]

Returning to the inventory of assets of the Count of Castelo Melhor, it can be seen that he had "*hum paramento de cama de escarlata com rodapé e tem dous cobertores hum maior que outro rendado de prata e ouro de duas rendas juntas de dous dedos e o sobrecéu tem renda maior*" (scarlet bed furnishings with lower valances and two counterpanes, one larger than the other, decorated with adjoining silver and gold lace, two fingers in width, and a canopy with bigger lace); "*hum paramento de cama de volante emcarnado e branco e cortina de cobrir*" (a bed dressed with a red and white tulle and a covering curtain); "*huma cama pequena de quatro cortinas de damasco verde com franja e alamares de retros da mesma cor*" (a small bed with four green damask curtains with silk thread fringing and aiguillettes of the same colour); and also a cot, probably for one of his younger children, with similar decoration, "*de damasco cramezim com alamares e franjão de ouro*" (of crimson damask with gold aiguillettes and fringing).[37]

Due to the way the assets were listed, it is difficult to comprehend the quantity and types of bed draperies of which a bed could comprise. However, thanks to the inventory of the "*móveis que estavao no quarto dos menores*" (furniture in the children's room), it is possible to get an approximate idea of its layout, albeit an incomplete one. For example, the "*leito de pao-santo de huma so pessoa com algum bronze*" (wooden single bed with some bronze) was matched with four mattresses, two shaggy counterpanes and a bedspread, in addition to "*hum paramento da mesma cama de damasco cramezim com sobreçeo e quedas do mesmo cobertor e*

rodapé guarnecido tudo de franja e alamares de ouro" (crimson damask furnishings with a canopy and drapes like the counterpane and lower valances all garnished with gold fringing and aiguillettes).[38] The set also included a series of bolsters and small cushions.

A bed was also frequently covered by a canopy, supported by four posts that extended upwards from the bed's legs, whose top could be flat, domed (pavilion-like) or pyramidal, like that on the so-called Burnay bed[39] [fig. 3], as well as upper valances (pelmets or lambrequins) and lower valances from the frame to the floor (bases). The valances were intended to cloak the bed's upper structure to disguise the overlapping areas between the curtains and canopy, if included, and the lower valances, as their name suggests, to adorn the lower part of the bed at the mattress level to conceal the bed's legs and protect it from friction and dirt.[40] Finally, the whole set could be topped with feathers, finials and other ornaments.

Although to date no evidence has been found to support it, it was common (in other countries) to protect the most sophisticated and expensive beds – possibly mounted but not used every day, as with the state beds – with additional curtains all around. In any event, in an addendum to the inventory of furnishings on Afonso VI's bed at the Royal Palace of Ribeira in 1667, immediately following his wedding to Maria Francisca, it is known to have included a "*cobertor com borlas e seus **guarda pos** de tafeta com franginha de ouro*" (counterpane with edging and taffeta **case curtains** (dust covers) with gold fringing)[41] (my bold).

In 1680, José de Menezes, the Bishop of Algarve, owned "*hum paramento do dito leito de damasco verde guarnecido de franjas de retros verde, e ouro que consta de cobertor, rodapee seis cortinas sobre ceo, e hum doselzinho irmão*" (a set of green damask bed hangings garnished with green silk and gold thread fringing, a counterpane, lower valance, six curtains and a small matching canopy).[42] At the time of his death in 1704, Luís de Lencastre, 4th Count of Vila Nova de Portimão, owned among his belongings "*Hum paramento de Cama de damasco carmesim sobre ceo e trez cortinas com cobretor do mesmo forrado tudo de tafetâ da mesma cor com franjas de ouro em bom uzo*" (A set of bed furnishings consisting of a crimson



[fig. 3]

Canopy bed

Portugal, 17th century (second half)

Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon
Inv. 1376 Mov

© DGPC/ADF | Photo: José Pessoa

damask canopy and three curtains with a counterpane in the same fabric all lined in the same-coloured taffeta with gold fringing, well used) and "*outro paramento de Cama de Velludo carmesim sobre ceo e três cortinas rodapée e docel de cabeceira com franjas de ouro*" (another set of bed hangings with a crimson velvet canopy and three curtains, a lower valance and headcloth with gold fringing). Both were valued at 300,000 and 400,000 *réis*, in contrast to the 50,000 *réis* of his "*evano retrocido*" (twisted ebony) bed.[43]

This is just one of the many examples that attests to the substantial cost and value of bed hangings in relation to the wooden frame, be it fixed or dismountable.[44] Take, for example, the sum bid for the bed belonging to Francisco de Assis de Távora, 3rd Count of Alvor and 3rd Marquis of Távora, in 1759 – deemed one of the closest in type to the so-called Cadaval Bed – compared to that offered for its respective hangings, described as "*imperial*" due to its pavilion canopy. The frame "*de pao de Evano torneado com sua grade de treze balaústres ... com guarnição em parte de latão dourado com duas laminas de prata lavradas pertencentes à cabeceira do mesmo leito*" (in turned wood with a railing of thirteen balusters ... partly garnished with gilt bronze with two sheets of embossed silver belonging to the headboard of the same bed) was sold, minus its silver garnishing, for 226,000 *réis*. The hangings, "in crimson velvet with gold garnishing and fringing with some edging in the same gold, comprising four taffeta curtains with seven valances with the same garnishing and edging, and a canopy and backrest and matching counterpane with twenty-four pieces of the same kind, and the same small garnishing of various sizes and four cloths of crimson taffeta lined with Rouen with gold braid"[45] were valued at 680,000 *réis*.[46]

In addition to the fact that the sum for the furnishings was three times higher than that for the bedstead, the effort taken to list all of its components, rather than merely grouping them, is notable.[47] This could also be regarded as a way of underlining the scope and breadth of the legacy and suggest the pride felt in this bequeathal.[48]

As the examples cited attest, in the period between the mid-17th and early-18th century, the favoured colours seem to have been green and red in multiple hues, as they were outside Portugal.[49] These colours could be used in isolation or jointly, but the combinations were only valued if each of the colours was regarded as just as bright and brilliant as when used individually.[50]

As far as the materials used to make the beds are concerned, monochrome fabrics were the mainstay in the 1600s.[51] Mostly, their decoration was dominated by vegetal motifs, especially from the 1650s onwards, with a more nature-oriented approach only seen in the decorative textiles from the late-17th and early-18th century, where flowers were reproduced in a more naturalistic manner in bright colours and pastel tones.[52] During these two centuries, there was an impressive growth in the availability of fabrics, whose materials, production technologies, motifs and provenance became increasingly diverse, reflecting their increasing popularity.

In this respect, it is worth noting the variety, quantity and substantial cost of the fabrics used to make a bed for the *infante* Pedro (1648-1706) at the Corte-Real Palace in 1668 during his residence there.[53] According to the respective budget, it was a bed of "*14 l*arguras que tẽn de alto *tres couodos e meio*" (14 widths three and a half cubits high); "*o sobreseo 3 larguras de tres covodos e hua sesma monta covodos noue e meio*" (a canopy of 3 widths of three cubits and another amounting to nine and a half cubits); "*o cobretor sinco larguras de quarto couodos e hua quarta cada largura monta couodos vinta hu e huma quarta*" (a counterpane of five widths of four and a quarter cubits each amounting to twenty-one and a quarter cubits); "*as gornisois das cortinas vinta hũ covodo e meio*" (twenty-one and a half cubits of curtain garnish); "*gornisão do sobreseo*" (canopy garnish), "*o rodape per 3 partes*" (a 3-piece lower valance); "os alparauales (sic)" (valances); "*o acressentamento do dosel verde nas gornisois delle e os alparauales de fora*" (the attachment of the green canopy to the garnishes and outer valances); and "*3. folhas de almofadas*" (3 pillow cases).[54] The respective invoice for the above is shown below:

eighty cubits of **green cloth with gold thread with white hues** forming the body of the chamber at 2,500 a cubit [?]: two hundred thousand reis _____ 200,000
ninety-two cubits of **white cloth with gold thread** for the skirt garnish, garnishes affixed to a green canopy and 3 pillow cases at 3,000 a cubit: three hundred and thirty-one thousand and three hundred *reis*_____ 331,300
two cubits of green cloth with gold thread to affix to said canopy at 3,300 a cubit: seven thousand *reis*_____7,000
nine cubits of **green cloth** to upholster the valances on the canopy at 1,200 a cubit: ten thousand eight hundred *reis*_____ 10,800

549,000

one hundred and twenty-seven and a half cubits of **green Granada taffeta** to upholster the bed at 240 a cubit: thirty-three thousand one hundred and fifty reis_____33,150
eighty cubits of **Dutch linen** for the mattress protector and canopy at 100 a cubit: eight thousand reis_____8,000
sixteen and a half cubits of **green camlet** for the mattress protector at 600 a cubit: nine thousand nine hundred reis_____ 9,900"[55] (my bold)

Although most of the fabrics could have been used in the bed dressings, in practice the more rigid and heavier ones would not have been, especially for the more regularly handled curtains.[56] The factors that weighed most heavily on the choice of fabrics were the degree of their exposure (according to the owners' wealth) and the weather, which dictated the change in the bed sets during the year. As Rafaella Sarti observes, in some cases, the distinction between private and ceremonial bedchambers would overlap the difference between summer and winter beds.[57]

Strong and warm fabrics such as brocades, velvets, shaggy wool yarns, burel and rough wool fabric were suited to colder weather. These alternated with lighter and cooler fabrics such as satins, silk gauzes (tulle and fine silk fabric) and dyed and printed cotton at hotter times of the year. According to the assets of Rodrigo da Câmara (1594-1672), 3rd Count of Vila Franca, inventoried at the time of his incarceration by the Tribunal do Santo Ofício (1651), the latter had two bed sets for his bronzed blackwood bed: one "*de raxa verde e amarela*" (in rough green and yellow wool) and another "*pera Verão de damasco carmisim goarnecido de oiro*" (for summer in crimson damask garnished with gold), both much used.[58]

Although in the 17th century tapestries remained valued and essential furnishings in the households of the most illustrious members of Portuguese (and foreign) society, in the middle of the century their use as bed hangings fell into disuse in favour of purely fabric sets. In addition to being very expensive, they were highly impractical. They were far less malleable and, therefore, tended to be limited to the fixed elements or counterpane. This would explain their absence from the inventories analysed, as well as the change in the decorative style informing the bed mounted for the baptism of the new members of the recently risen to power brigantine dynasty. In 1643, the bed prepared for the baptism of Afonso VI in the chapel of the Palace of Ribeira matched the decor of the church itself: "*toda armada de panos de raz & ouro, em q se continha a historia & vida de Alexandre Magno, & à parte direita* estaua hũa cama tambẽ de *raz, & ouro bordada da historia delRey Dauid cõ suas cortinas ligeiras da parte de dentro de tela carmezi & suas almofadas do mesmo tapiz*" (all dressed with Arras cloth & gold, displaying the history & life of Alexander the Great, & on the right was a bed also with Arras cloth & gold embroidered with the history of King David with light curtains lined on the inside with crimson cloth & with matching cushions).[59] A quarter of a century later (1669), the bed mounted in the same place for the baptism of the *infanta* Isabel Josefa (1669-1690), daughter of King Pedro II and Marie-Françoise of Savoie, was described as follows:

> ... embroidered with green velvet, embossed, looking more like subtly raised parts of gold branches ... The valances were similarly embroidered, with the much more prominently embossed Arms of Portugal in the middle, standing out more than half a palm's width, surmounted by the Imperial Crowns; instead of gold thread fringing, there was stitching of gold ***de aquarta*** of the most precious that could possibly be made ... The bed's curtains were of crimson cloth, also with gold thread ... the counterpane was in the same cloth: the sheets of very fine chambray with bands of the same material; and the cushions of even finer chambray; such that the base of the pillowcases was a striking iridescence that made the combination even shinier.[60]

This is the model which then endured, as the baptismal celebrations for her half-brother, the prince and future King João V (1689-1750) – son of the then King Pedro II and his second wife Marie Sophie of Neuburg (1666-1699) – clearly attests, although in another colour.[61]

In addition to Portuguese manufacture – notably linen in Guimarães and Caldas da Rainha and silk in the Bragança region – and products from the traditional European textile centres, Portugal benefitted during this period from the cloth supplied through its extensive imperial overseas trading networks. Growing imports of textiles from Asia's acclaimed production centres contributed to important changes in the materials and artistic production that began to characterise the daily life and domestic interiors of the realm's economic and social elite (and the rising social classes[62]). Distinct in style from their European counterparts, these objects were also important material testimonies to the colonial venture and therefore had special relevance in the systems of representation of the realm's main nobility.[63] These textiles were not only highly valued but gave "*um certo cunho exótico* [emprestado] *ao interior das habitações seiscentistas, onde a profusão garrida e luxuosa dos tecidos contrastava naturalmente com o estilo pesado e a imponência do mobiliário*" (the homes of the 1600s a certain [loaned] exotic hallmark in which the profusion of bold and lavish fabrics contrasted naturally with the heavy style and imposing furniture).[64]

Though no complete bed furnishings survive in Portugal (that are known of), examples of bedspreads, cushions and valances exist in sufficient numbers for some authors to conclude that the taste for these objects was considerable.[65] In fact, a cross-check of contemporary records shows some of the sets and individual objects, embroidered Indian and Chinese coverlets in particular, among the belongings in the inventories I have examined and most highly representative of the types owned by Portuguese nobility and royalty. As an example, and strictly based on objects whose provenance has been identified (while not all necessarily correct as far as the so-called Indian textiles are concerned), I would refer to three white coverlets from India belonging to the 2nd Count of Castelo Melhor: one already old, part of the bed furnishings in the children's room, another of medium size with orange silk stitching with a yellow fringe ("*pespontada de retros leonado com franja amarela*") and yet another used one with small red silk stitching with hunting scenes ("*pequena pespontada de retros encarnado com alguma montaria uzada*").[66] And among the assets inventoried on the death of the 1st Marquise of Fronteira (in 1673) are the hangings on a cot of double crimson Indian taffeta with

silver passementerie, a satin Indian counterpane in red hues, and a canopy and a counterpane garnished with silver passementerie and lined with red taffeta.[67]

In 1692, Aires Teles de Menezes, the illegitimate son of the 1st Count of Vila Pouca de Aguiar, owned the following furnishings on his farm in Vale Formoso on the outskirts of Lisbon: "*hum godrim da China de seda forrado de crua* [?] *amarela com sua franja e borlas e de varias cores com alguns buracos*" (a stuffed Chinese silk coverlet lined with yellow *crua* [?] with fringing and edging of various colours with some holes), "*huma colchinha pequenina de berço de seda da China lavrada de varias cores e ouro*" (a small cot coverlet in Chinese silk in various colours and gold), "*hum cobertor de damasco da India de varias cores com alguns buracos e uzado*" (an Indian damask counterpane in various colours with some holes and already used) and "*Huma colcha branca da India fina pespontada de retros branco com franja de retros amarelo e suas borlas nova*" (a fine white Indian coverlet with white silk stitching with yellow silk fringing and new tassels).[68] Moreover, of the ten coverlets listed in the inventory of the 4th Count of Vila Nova de Portimão (1704), at least two were from China and one from India.[69] And when Beatriz Mascarenhas Castelo-Branco da Costa – 3rd Countess of Palma and 4th Countess of Sabugal married to Fernando Mascarenhas, 2nd Count of Óbidos – died in 1709, she left two Chinese pavilion beds, one "*de ló azul com seu capelo ... bordado de ouro de palhinha com seu cobertor azul de damasco com as cenefas bordadas, forrado de tafetá amarelo, tudo com sua franja de ouro, e ceda*" (of fine blue silk fabric with a canopy ... embroidered with gold thread with a damask blue counterpane and embroidered valances lined with yellow taffeta, all fringed with gold and silk), and another "*de tafeta branco, bordado de ouro, e ceda de palhinha, com seu capelo bordado e cobertor de damasco branco grande, com cenefas bordadas de ouro, e três travesseiros, e quatro almofadinhas, tudo bordado da mesma ordem*" (in white taffeta, embroidered with gold and silk thread, with an embroidered canopy and a large white damask counterpane with gold embroidered valances, plus three bolsters and four small cushions, all similarly embroidered).[70]

These fabrics of Asian origin were highly cherished and even featured on royal beds, such as those of Afonso VI and his wife in the "*Casa de Sima do estrado de*

dormir" (upper bedchamber) and the "*Camara de dormir*" (bedchamber) of the Royal Palace of Ribeira. Both were adorned with Indian coverlets displaying fine hunting scenes ("*de montaria fina*"), the king's lined with crimson taffeta.[71]

Although of distant origin, from these examples it is possible to recognise not only the same types of pieces but an identical concern for harmony, in terms of matching ensembles. No less importantly, they are also similar in terms of the deteriorated condition of some of the objects, possibly due to continuous use or their already long inclusion in the respective heritage collections. Most of the descriptions cited do not, however, explain the iconography adorning the respective ornamental repertoires. However, by comparing the documentary sources with the material testimonies, we can begin to identify some of the trends, such as Indian coverlets from Bengal. Still valued and recognised today for their monochrome colour schemes and quality of execution, these objects were embroidered with silk and represented mythological and Biblical scenes, heraldic emblems, and horseback hunting of wild animals, such as wild boar, deer and stags,[72] and other motifs. The pieces from China, however, were above all decorated with vegetal and floral motifs embroidered with polychrome and gold silk thread.[73]

A few final thoughts

While sketching the panorama that characterised the fabrics which furnished Portuguese beds from the mid-17th to early-18th century, it is impossible to give anything other than an approximate idea of the furnishing scheme used on the so-called "Cadaval Bed".[74] This is because, as we have sought to show, many possible variants existed in terms of the materials, colour schemes and quality of manufacture of the chosen fabrics, plus the types involved and the respective quantity. Nevertheless, based on the descriptions we have of two other beds that are closest in type to this one – that of the 4th Marquis of Távora and the bed at the Basilica of Santa María de Elche (Spain) – it can be inferred, despite their differences, that in addition to mattresses and bed linen, this bed had matching

hangings, possibly of crimson velvet, comprising at least a counterpane of the same fabric, headcloth and a canopy. These seem to have been the indispensable elements, but the set could also include curtains, a more or less imposing canopy, valances and bases. Today, it is hard to imagine a bed of this scale and characteristics completely dressed, but in the period in question that would very much have been the case...



[fig. 4]
View of the bed in the National Palace of Sintra
Portugal, 17th century (second half)

Palácio Nacional de Sintra
Inv. PNS6207

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NOTES

1 Távora, 1972: 15.

2 Távora, 1972: 21; Madureira, 1992: 211.

3 Távora, 1972: 23; Claburn, 1988: 99; Ágreda Pino, 2017: 21.

4 An expression still used in an inventory from 1750 "*dos bens frutas e gados*" (of the fruit and livestock assets) of Quinta de Benavente owned by the dukes of Cadaval. See Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (ANTT), *Feitos Findos*, Inventários, Letra D, maço 73, nº 10, fl. 5.

5 Richardson and Hamling, 2016: 6; Beard, 1997: 26; Thornton, 1978: 97.

6 Feigenbaum, 2014: 12.

7 Richardson and Hamling, 2017; SARTI, 2001: 205.

8 Richardson and Hamling, 2016: 5.

9 Feigenbaum, 2014; Volpi, 2014: 17–29.

10 Carita and Cardoso, 1983: 80.

11 Feigenbaum, 2014: 15.

12 Cardim, 2011: 166. See the text by Bastos, 2007: 151-160.

13 Franco, 2015: 220.

14 ANTT, *Arquivo da Casa dos Condes de Povolide*, supplement 1, *Memórias do 1º conde de Povolide*, vol. I, nº 13, fls. 112-112v, citado por Bastos, 2007: 159.

15 Franco, 2015: 222.

16 Cardim: 2011: 168. Although earlier than the period in focus, it is worth noting the duties of the lord chamberlain of the 5th Duke of Braganza (ca. 1510-1563): "*quando chegava de sua casa, se o Duque naõ avia ainda chamado, esperava na Guardaroupa, que era sempre na Antecamara, ate que chamava, e nesta primeira entrada, entravaõ com elleo moço da Guardaroupa, e o das chaves abria a janela, e se a cama estava descomposta, ou a colcha caída, lha concertavaõ* ..." (After arriving from home, if the duke has not yet called him, he shall wait in the wardrobe room, which is always in the antechamber, until called, whereupon he shall enter with the wardrobe officer, and the person with the keys shall open the window, and shall make the bed if it has not already been made, or if the bedspread is not in place ...); *Regimento dos officiaes da Casa do Duque D. Theodosio I. Tirey-o do archivo da Casa de Bragança, onde se conserva*, published by Sousa, tomo IV, parte I, 1950: 235.

17 Although very heavy, these "household hangings" (*armações de casa*), with sturdy materials, such as damask, but also tapestries and leathers, were the most common decorative option in Portuguese aristocratic homes until the final decades of the 18th century, representing a real sign of prestige and social distinction. Mesquita, 1992: I, 75; Ferreira, 2014: 542-544.

18 See Ferreira, 2014: 545.

19 On this matter, see the third chapter in Bohanan, 2012: 56-73 (Regularité: Color Schemes and Matched Sets); Ferreira, 2018: 202; Beard, 1997: XV.

20 See Bastos, 2018: 89-109.

21 *Relação da Chegada do Marquez de Roylac Embaxador de ElRey Christianissimo, 25 de Abril de 1645*, published by Coelho, 1940: 230.

22 Coelho, 1940: 231.

23 Coelho, 1940: 231.

24 Edwards, 2007: 15; Sarti, 2001: 206.

25 De Vries, 2008: 57, 148; Roche, 1998: 207.

26 Appearance noted in Ferreira, 2018: 199-200.

27 Such as the inventory of Francisco Pereira de Linde (de 1696), a Flemish businessman living in Rua de Valverde, which refers to four large mattresses, two *meãos* (medium-sized) mattresses and five small mattresses. See ANTT, *Orfanológicos*, Letra F, maço 120 (A), nº 5, fl. 20v.

28 Távora, 1972: 14.

29 Bluteau, 1712: II, 61.

30 ANTT, *Orfanológicos*, Letra J, maço 347, nº 9, fl. 19v. Though this is the option most commonly used in the inventories of assets examined, I draw attention to the fact that not all of the mattresses were solely made of linen cloth. For example, the three mattresses on each of the beds of Afonso VI and Maria Francisca at the Palace of Ribeira were of crimson damask, the same material used to make the respective bolsters and small pillows as well as the pavilion, counterpane and curtains. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP), códice 4173, *Do Governo de Portugal. Das Casas dos Reys e das Rainhas*, *Memoria do que esta nas Casas da rainha neste paço* ... fls. 67 and 68v. Mention of the crimson damask bed that animated the "silver lined bed" (*leyto chapado de prata*) mounted in the current King Sebastian Room for the death of Afonso VI in the Palace of Sintra in 1683 leads us to ponder the theory that it is the same ensemble. See ARQUIVO NACIONAL TORRE DO TOMBO (Lisbon), *Colecção de São Vicente*, liv. 22, *Rellação do q[ue] se fez em Cintra na morte de S*[ua] *Mag*[estad]*e que D*[eu]*s tem*, fl. 40v. My thanks to Bruno Martinho for sharing this document.

31 Sarti, 2001: 206.

32 ANTT, *Orfanológicos*, Letra J, maço 347, nº 9, fl. 51-52v.

33 Claburn, 1988: 104.

34 BNP, códice 4173, *Do Governo de Portugal. Das Casas dos Reys e das Rainhas*, *Memoria do que esta nas Casas da rainha neste paço* ..., fl. 68v. and Arquivo da Fundação das Casas de Fronteira e Alorna (AFCFA), doc. 3, *Inventário de Partilhas que se fizerão por morte e falecimento da senhora Donna Madaglena de Castro Marqueza de Fronteira e se fizerão e contenuou com o senhor Dom João Mascarenhas Marquês de Fronteira viuvo que da dita senhora ficou, lisboa 2 de Novembro de 1673*, published by Mesquita, 1992: II, 26.

35 On the distinction between the public and private sphere, and the personal and social obligations of the nobility and court, see Cunha e Monteiro, 2011: 202-243, and Cardim, 2011: 160-201.

36 Melo, 1992 [1651]: 32.

37 ANTT, *Orfanológicos*, Letra J, maço 347, nº 9, fl. 32-34v.

38 ANTT, *Orfanológicos*, Letra J, maço 347, nº 9, fls. 55-56.

39 Bastos, 2003: 204-207.

40 *Alparavaz* (a base, or lower valance) "*he a aba da Esteira, que cobre a extremidade do estrado, ou pano que dos colchoens para baixo cobre o vão do leito*" (is the flap of the mat that covers the side of the dais or cloth that hangs from the mattress down to the floor). Bluteau, vol. I, 1712: 278-279; Ágreda Pinto, 2017: 34.

41 BNP, códice 4173, *Do Governo de Portugal. Das Casas dos Reys e das Rainhas*, *Memoria do que esta nas Casas da rainha neste paço* ..., fl. 68v, left margin.

42 BIBLIOTECA DA AJUDA (BA), Ms. 54-XIII-17, nº 52, *Inventario dos Bens patrimoniais do Illustrissimo Senhor D. Ioseph de Menezes Bispo do Algarve*, Lisboa, 17 de Setembro 1680, fl.10v.

43 Sousa, 1956: 41, 44.

44 Bastos, 2012: 79-80; Ferreira, 2014: 549; Ferreira, 2018: 204.

45 Original quotation: "*de veludo carmezim com guarniçois e franjas de ouro com algumas bordaduras do mesmo ouro, que se compoem de quatro cortinas forradas de tafetá com sete sanefas com a mesma guarnição e bordadura e seu ducel e espaldar e seu cobertor Irmão com vinte e quatro pessas da mesma fazenda com a mesma guarnição meudas de varios tamanhos e quatro panos de tafetá carmezim forrados de Rução com seu galão de ouro*."

46 Guerra, 1954: 16, 68.

47 Guerra, 1954: 68, also published by Távora, 1972: 25-27. Original quotation: "*Cama quarto cortinas com quarto panos forrados todos de nobreza da mesma cor cada pano com sinco covados; e hua pessa frajados e agualvados = sobre ceo da imperial franjado e bordado todo muito rico = espaldar da mesma forma com quarto panos do tamanho das cortinas = guarda colçoens; e rodapé tãobem franjado e galões = seis sanefas grandes ricamente bordadas e franjadas = quatorze pessas das goarniçoens da mesma cama franjadas e agualvadas; mayors e minors = duas goarniçoens com galoens e franjas e duas mais piquenas todas bordadas com galoens e franja = dous travesseiros com galoens pelo meyo = quarto bolças de nobreza forradas de olandilha com galoens de ouro; e o remate do teto da cama bordado e franjado sendo tudo de veludo carmezim e galoens; e franjas e ouro fino ...*".

48 Richardson e Hamling, 2017: 243.

49 Bohanan, 2012: 59.

50 Bohanan, 2012: 60.

51 Kraatz, 2005: 128.

52 Kraatz, 2005: 130-132.

53 The hangings mentioned would have been intended for an existing bed, as inferred by the sum of 13,000 *réis* paid to the cabinetmaker Manuel Carvalho for its cleaning and repair. The furnishings were made by the garment maker Manuel Alvares and silk weaver Manuel Lopes Delgado, to whom was paid, "*dos feitios da obra de seu officio*" (for the fruits of his trade), 49,827 and 15,900 *réis*, respectively. See BA, códice 51-VI-15, *Despesa que Antonio Cavide ... casas do Principe nosso Senhor de Corte Real por seu mandado, Abril de 668*, fl. 240v.

54 BA, códice 51-VI-15, *Orsamento da Cama que se ha de fazer para o Senhor Emfante para ho pallasio da Corte Real, 21 de abril de 668*, fl. 241.

55 BA, códice 51-VI-15, *Despesa que Antonio Cavide ...* ; fl. 240-240v. Original quotation: "*#oitenta couados de tella verde repassada de ouro cõ matizes brancos de que se formou o corpo da Camara a 2500 o couado* [?] *duzentos mil reis_200U000 / # nouenta e dous couados de tella branca repassada de ouro para as guarnições roda, pes, acresentamentos de guarnições de hum duçel verde e 3. folhas de almofadas á 3U000 o couado tresentos e trinta e hu mil e trezentos reis_331U200 / # dous couados de tella verde repassada de ouro para acresentamento do ditto docel á 3U300 o couado sette mil reis_7U000 / #noue couados de telilha verde para forro das goteiras do ditto duçel á 1200 o couado des mil e oitocentos reis_10U800 / ------ 549U000 / # sentto vinte e sette couados e meio de taffeta verde de Granada para forro da ditta cama a 240 rs o couado trinta e tres mil sento e sincoenta_33U150 / #oittenta couados de olandilha de linho para a ditta cama guarda colchões e doçel á 100 o couado oito mil reis_8U000 / #desaeis couados e mejo de chamalote verde para o guarda colchões á 600 o covado noue mil e noue senttos reis_9U900*" (my bold).

56 See Thronton, 1991: 158.

57 Sarti, 2001: 220. Original quotation: "em alguns casos a distinção entre quartos de cama privados e de ostentação sobrepor-se-á à diferença entre camas de Verão e camas de Inverno".

58 ANTT, *Tribunal do Santo Ofício*, Inquisição de Lisboa, Proc. nº 3529, fl. 66v.

59 *Relação do Baptismo*, 1643, unpaginated.

60 Villegas, 1670: 114-116. Original quotation: "*... bordada sobre terciopelo verde, con relieve tan alto, que màs pareciã troços de ramos de oro sutilmente sacado ... Eran las goteras del mismo bordado, en medio las Armas de Portugal bordadas con relieve, mucho más alto, que sobresalia màs de medio palmo, coronadas con las Coronas Imperiales; en lugar de franjones de hilo de oro hilado, eran puntas de oro de aquarta, con que era lo màs precioso, que pudo ingeniar el cuidado .... Estavan las Cortinas de la Cama, aforradas en tela carmesi, tambien de oro tirado por la hilera, ... el Cobertor de la misma tela: las savanas de finissimo cambray con randas de a sesma; y las almohadas excedian en lo fino, del cambray; tanto que el razo de las fundas un vistoso tarnassolado hazia, con que el aliño luzia más.*"

61 BA, 51-VI-42, *Relação e forma de como se Bautizou o Serenissimo Principe D. João Nosso Senhor que Deos guarde, filho delRey D. Pedro 2º*, 1689, fl. 44v: "*hũa rica cama de tela repassada de oiro, e azul com sabastos em roda e sanefas de outra tela mais levantada, com penhascos de oiro, e grandes franjões de oiro forrada toda de hũa primavera de cores e muito oiro ... e dentro da cama estavão tres almofadas irmans da mesma cama que fazia forma de cortina serrada.*"

62 Ferreira, 2016: 22-39.

63 Cunha e Monteiro, 2011: 235.

64 Castelo-Branco, 1990: 54.

65 Nascimento, 1950: 42.

66 ANTT, *Orfanológicos*, Letra J, maço 347, nº 9, fls. 56, 33 and 23v.

67 AFCFA, doc. 3, *Inventário de Partilhas que se fizerão por morte e falecimento da senhora Donna Madaglena de Castro Marqueza de Fronteira e se fizerão e contenuou com o senhor Dom João Mascarenhas Marquês de Fronteira viuvo que da dita senhora ficou, lisboa 2 de Novembro de 1673*, published by Mesquita, 1992: II, 25. Original quotation: "*paramento de hum berço de tafeta dobre cramezim da India com passamane de prata con cobertor da India de setim encarnado de matizes sobre seo e cobertor gornecido de passamane de prata novo tudo forrado a cobertor de tafeta encarnado*".

68 ANTT, *Orfanológicos*, Letra A, maço 306, nº 4, fls. 7-8v.

69 Sousa, 1950: 44.

70 ANTT, *Arquivos Particulares*, Casa de Santa Iria, caixa 10, doc. 117, fl. 1, cl. 2.

71 BNP, códice 4173, *Do Governo de Portugal. Das Casas dos Reys e das Rainhas, Memoria do que esta nas Casas da rainha neste paço ...*, fl. 67-68v. For more details, see BASTOS, 2018: 89-109.

72 Bluteau, 1716: V, 565. On this matter, see Karl, 2016; Cristóvão, 2017.

73 Ferreira, 2014a.

74 Very probably, and in line with its counterparts, the same fabric used on the bed was a reference point for the rest of the ornamentation in the bed chamber where it stood. Whereas in the former this look is confirmed by the record of the fabrics used to cover the walls of the bedroom and more than thirty chairs, in the case of the Elche bed, the donation, in addition to the bed, of six stools dressed in the same crimson velvet was crucial.

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#03 / 2020

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THE VIRGIN OF ELCHE BED

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From at least the 16th century, the custom of solemnising the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary – the August Virgin – by building funerary tombs in the centre of churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary was common across the former Kingdom of Aragon. These tombs were built in the form of beds on which was placed a sculpture of the Virgin, who appears to be dead, thereby recalling her Dormition or "falling asleep". At their foot – especially decorated with candles, lights and aromatic plants – stood an altar where liturgical ceremonies were celebrated during the Octave (the eighth days) of the Feast of the Virgin's Assumption into heaven.

This custom was common in parish and monastery churches, above all among the Franciscan sisters, who were particularly dedicated to this Marian devotion. Naturally, it was given great importance in the cathedrals, where, in the Baroque era, large bed-shaped altarpieces – the so-called "*literas de la Virgen*" – were erected in some of the chapels. Examples of these are the monumental beds in Girona Cathedral, built by Lluís Bonifaç in 1772-1775, and Tarragona Cathedral, also from the 18th century but destroyed in 1936. One of these beds can be found in Palma de Mallorca Cathedral, located on one of the largest islands in the Balearic archipelago, where we know that to build the August Virgin *cadafals* (platform stages) in the churches – an intensely celebrated custom that has lasted until today – the local nobility competed to offer their best beds for use.

A tomb of this sort was also built in Valencia Cathedral in the month of August. On it was displayed an image of the Holy Virgin usually venerated in the chapel of the *Hospital de Sacerdotes Pobres* in the city, which, on the morning of 15 August, is still carried in a procession by clerics dressed as apostles in memory of Mary's burial. Records recount that in 1556 the carpenter Francesc Martí was erecting the stage for the Virgin Mary's bed accompanied by his small daughter. While playing, the child became entangled in one of the ropes hanging from the upper part of the dome used to secure the tomb ornaments. Martí could do nothing to stop her, amid the assembly work, from being hoisted to a great height and then falling to the ground. The fact she escaped uninjured was deemed due to the intercession of the Mother of God and, ever since, the displayed image has been known as the Virgin "*del Milagro*" (of the Miracle).

The Virgin of Elche bed

In the town of Elche, south of the former Kingdom of Valencia, there also existed the custom – which has lasted until the present day – of erecting a bed to Our Lady during the Octave of the Assumption and after the celebration of the *Festa* or *Misteri d'Elx*, a mystery play performed in the basilica of Santa María since the 15th century and classified as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2001. This sacred musical drama enacts the death, the passage into heaven (known as the Assumption) and the crowning (Coronation) of the Virgin Mary with Gregorian chanting, 16th-century polyphony and verses written in Valencian. In the first known inventory of the dressing and ornaments of the image of the Virgin of Elche, mentioned are some elements used to build and adorn the bed. The document, housed in the Historical Archive of the Basilica of Santa María de Elche, was written in 1596 during the pastoral visit of the bishop of Orihuela, Josep Esteve. It must be noted that these ornaments were to be found in the chapel of Saint Sebastian, an oratory near the parish church, where the image of the Virgin was kept until 1648 and where the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Assumption, guardian of the cult of the image, was based. Among other dressings and objects, the inventory listed the following:

Item, dos matalafs de llana
Item, set coxins de setí carmesí guarnit de flanja de or, cinch grans y uno chic, ab la matexa guarniçió
Item, dos llansols obrats de seda de grana
Item, una vánova de tafatà carmessí colchada ab son envés de tela blava
Item, un cobertor de llit de tafatà carmessí amb una faxa en torn de tafatà groch vell
Item, un dosel ab quatre tovalloles de tafatà carmessí ab flanja de seda carmessí ...[1]

Moreover, among the payments made by the Confraternity was always a sum intended to "*parar lo llit en la octava de Nostra Senyora*" (prepare Our Lady's bed for the *Octave*). A bequest intended for the construction of this tomb was also found in which Simó Arasil left the following provision in his last will and testament in 1631: "*Item, vull y man sien presos de mos bens doscents reals per ayuda fer el llit de Nostra Señora de la Asunció com axí a mi plasia*" (it is my wish that two hundred *reales* in my estate be used to help build the bed of Our Lady of Assumption, as is my pleasure).[2]

The current bed

The first documentary references to the current bed of the Virgin of Elche date from the 18th century. Gabriel Ponce de Léon (1667-1745), Duke of Aveiro and Duke of Baños, and younger brother of Joaquín Ponce de Léon (1666-1729), Duke of Arcos and Marquis of Elche, bequeathed a bed made of ebony[3] with bronze and silver garnishing[4] to the image of the Elche Virgin for use in the Octave of the Assumption.

It should be noted that Elche belonged to the former Kingdom of Valencia since its annexation by King Jaime II of Aragon in 1296. However, in 1470, Queen Isabel I of Castille, after her marriage to King Fernando II of Aragon, transferred the town and its neighbour Crevillente to her *maestresala*, Gutierre de Cárdenas. This seigneury was converted in 1520 to a marquisate. Over time, this marquisate passed to the House of Arcos and then, in 1705, to María de Guadalupe de Lencastre y Cárdenas (1630-1715), who sent her eldest son, Joaquín Ponce de Léon, to Elche. There, he was received by the local authorities who handed over the town and informed him about its history, the main monuments and the current state of affairs.[5] In turn, his brother Gabriel Ponce de Léon y Lencastre, who we do not know for sure was in Elche, inherited the Dukedom of Aveiro from his mother on the condition he lived in Portugal. Gabriel died single and childless.

The records show that on 2 August 1747, two years after his death, the clerk Francisco Gil was paid eleven *reales* and twelve *dineros* to issue a power of attorney on behalf of the administrators of the estate and income from the image of the Virgin of Elche (Nicolás Caro's *Vínculo* entailment[6]) to:

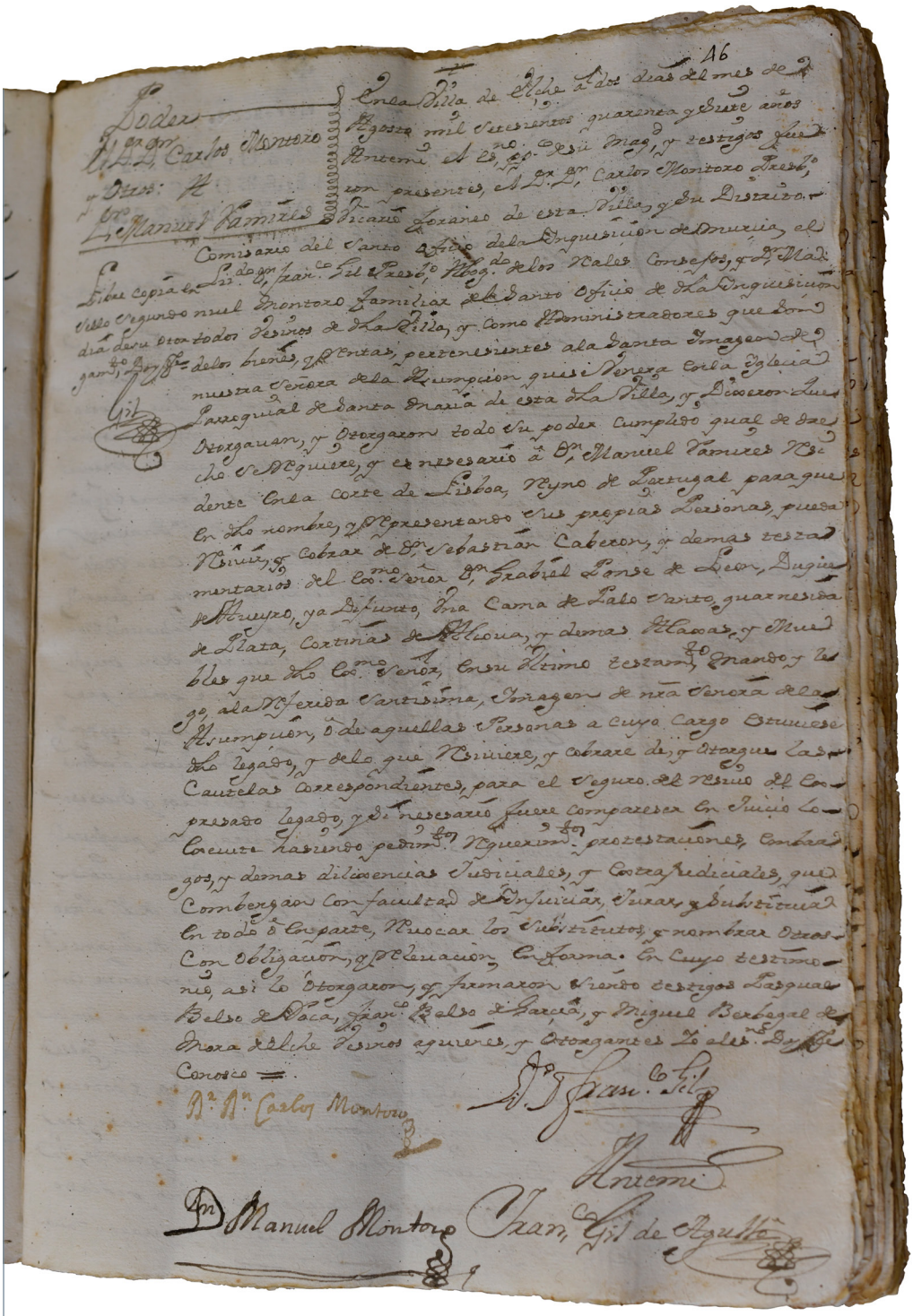
> *Dn. Manuel Ramires, residente en la corte de Lisboa, reyno de Portugal, para que, en dicho nombre y representando sus propias personas, pueda resivir y cobrar de Dn. Sebastián Cabezón y demás testamentarios del Exmo. Señor Dn. Gabriel Ponse de León, duque de Aveyro, ya difunto, una* ***cama de palo santo, guarnesida de plata, cortinas de alcova, y demás alaxas, y muebles*** *que dicho Exmo. Señor, en su último testamento, mandó y legó a la referida santísima imagen de Nuestra Señora de la Asumpción ...*[7] (my bold) [fig. 1]

Six years later, in 1753, the negotiations and trips by emissaries to Lisbon multiplied in number in the aim of bringing the bed definitively to Elche. On 5 May of that year, a power of attorney was issued by the administrators of the estate of the Virgin of Elche to Luis Cassou, a French businessman trading from Lisbon, so that, in his own name, he might receive from the executors of Gabriel Ponce de Léon, Duke of Aveiro, now deceased,

> *... y de qualquier otra persona a cuyo cargo esté, una* ***cama de palo santo***, ***guarnecida en plata***, ***con sus aderentes***, ***cortinas de alcova y seis taburetes de lo mismo***, *bienes que dicho Exmo. Señor. mandó y legó a esta santa imagen en su último testamento bajo cuya disposición falleció ...* [8] (my bold) [fig. 2]

By 23 August 1753, the bed had already arrived in Elche, as one can surmise from the letter received from the Duke of Aveiro's administrator:

> *Gobierno.*
>
> *Señor,*
>
> *En estos días a recibido este clero de Santa María con una embarcación que salió de Lisboa,* ***la cama con su colgadura y seis taburetes*** *que en el testamento dexó para esta santa imagen de Nuestra Señora de la Asumpción, el Excmo. Sr. Duque de Aveiro, mi señor (que Dios haya).*
>
> *Es dádiva correspondiente a quien la dexó, y para quien la señaló, pues en este Reino de Valencia se asegura no ay otra semejante,* ***la madera es palo santo cubierta quasi toda de sobrepuestos de plata***, ***de especial hechura y buril la testera***, ***a más de plata correspondiente a lo restante de la cama***, ***tiene diferentes ramos frutales con seis pinos de plata masisa***.



[fig. 1] **Power of attorney issued to Manuel Ramires, resident in the court of Lisbon, to take possession from the representatives of the deceased Duke of Aveiro of a silver-garnished palosanto wood bed, hangings and other pieces of furniture bequeathed by the Duke to the Virgin of Elche, 2 August 1747.**

Archivo Histórico Municipal de Elche
Sig. SHPN/593.

© MUVAPE | Photo: Sixto Marco
Courtesy of the museum



[fig. 2] **Power of attorney issued to Louis Cassou, a French merchant, to take possession from the executors of the last will and testament of the Duke of Aveiro of a silver-garnished palosanto wood bed, hangings and six stools bequeathed by the Duke to the Virgin of Elche, 5 May 1753.**

Archivo Histórico Municipal de Elche. Sig. SHPN/1002.

© MUVAPE | Photo: Sixto Marco
Courtesy of the museum

> ***La colgadura**, **como los seis taburetes**, **son de terciopelo carmesí con galón de oro**, que si bien no ha podido servir en estos últimos días de la octava por ser presiso limpiarla y rehemplasar algunas piezas que el tiempo, descuido o codicia a defraudado, tal qual se está enseñando al pueblo que mui hansioso deceava lo mismo y logra hoy con imponderable regosijo, originado, no tanto de la curiosidad, como de la imponderable devoción que tienen a esta divina imagen para quien a de servir en su célebre festividad de la Asumpción. 23 August 1753 (Félix Montes)*[9] (my bold)

The Duke of Aveiro, in turn, replied as follows:

> *Don Félix Montes.- (original)*
>
> *Por su carta de 23 del corriente, entiendo recibió el clero de Santa María de esta villa **la cama con su colgadura y 6 taburetes** que dejó en su testamento a Nª. Sª de la Assumpción, el Excmo. Sr. Duque de Aveiro, mí tío y señor, que aya gloria, lo que me·s gustoso y también que sea todo del primor y circunstancias que refiere. El duque.*[10] (my bold)

On 17 September, the person issued with Nicolás Caro's aforementioned entailment to collect the bed from the port of Alicante sent Elche a note with the sum incurred in shipping the object:

> *Muy señor mío, mis correspondientes de Lisboa me han remitido las notas de los gastos y derechos que pagaron para recojer, empaquetar y remitir la cama y demás correspondiente a ella que se trajo aquí para la Virgen, que importava 27 pesos, 2 sueldos, 2 dineros, y los fletes y gastos que satisfize yo en ésta, importaron 14 pesos, 9 sueldos, 4 dineros, y todo junto suma 41 pesos, 11 sueldos, 6 dineros, que podrá cobrar de essos señores administradores y abonármelos en mi cuenta, pues los dejo ya cargados en la de Ud., a cuyo servicio quedo rogando a Dios lo guarde muchos años. Alicante y septiembre, 17 de 1753.*
>
> *Adjunto va la misma carta de Lisboa con la cuenta orijinal ...* [11]

With the bed now in the possession of the administrators of the estate of the Virgin of Elche, and in the aim of using it for the octave of the Assumption the following year (1754), the need to clean and restore it suitably asserted itself. To that end, Joseph Calvo, a master silversmith from Alicante, was hired to undertake the work for the sum of two hundred and eighty *libras*. The daybook of obligations or contract drafted by the administrators of Nicolás Caro's entailment for the repair of the bed is held at the aforementioned Archive of the Basilica of Santa María:

> *Capítulos con los quales se ha de hazer el remate de componer la cama de Nuestra Señora de la Assumpción de la villa de Elche, la misma que mandó en su testamento el Excmo. Señor Duque de Aveyro, en el Reyno de Portugal.*
>
> *Primeramente, es capítulo que el maestro por quien quedase la composición en dicha cama, ha de hazer a sus costas todas las piezas de bronze que faltan en dicha cama, y darlas doradas al fuego; como assí mismo, las demás, que no concervan el dorado perfectamente, las ha de dar igualmente doradas al fuego para la uniformidad.*
>
> *Otrosí, es condición que ha de quedar del cargo del maestro por quien quedase dicho remate, hazer quantas piezas de plata faltan en dicha cama, como también el componer las quebrantadas, unas y otras, de conformidad que correspondan a las de dicha cama para que en todo sean uniformes.*
>
> *Otrosí, que toda* ***la plata de dicha cama, tanto la que está fixa en la escalerilla y quatro pilares, como los ramos, cipreses, bellotas y pomos, que están sobrepuestos y movibles****, la ha de dar limpia y blanqueada como si nuevamente saliese de mano de maestro, sacando de la escalerilla y pilares todas las piezas fixas para blanquearlas y limpiarlas.*
>
> *Otrosí, que todo el importe de la plata y oro que se necesitase para reponer todas las piezas que corresponden a dicha cama, tanto las que de nuevo deven hazerse, como los fracmentos que en parte faltan, ha de ser de cargo y obligación de quien se quedase en este remate, costearle.*

Otrosí, que todas las piezas de plata labradas y trepadas de la escalerilla y pilares de dicha cama las ha de dar fixas en sus puestos y tachonadas con clavitos de plata.

Otrosí, que todo lo que es ***madera de palo santo***[12] *en dicha cama, ha de ser obligación del maestro por quien quedase, limpiarla y bruñirla de modo que quede a toda perfecsión.*

Otrosí, que ha de dar concluida la mencionada compossición de cama el día quinse de julio del presente año mil setecientos cinquenta y quatro.

Otrosí, que el maestro por quien quedase dicha composición de cama ha de venir presisamente a la villa de Elche en donde ha de trabajar y hazer dicha obra a vista de los administradores y síndico del Vínculo de Nuestra Señora de la Assumpción.

Otrosí, que el maestro por quien quedase dicha obra y compossición de cama ha de dar fiador a satisfacción de dichos administradores.

Otrosí, que de la cantidad en que quedase ajustada y convenida la referida compossición de cama, se le dará la mitad de su importe de entrada y bistrecha, y lo restante, después de haver dado el maestro obligado la obra perfectamente rematada por visura de expertos y después también de haver armado la cama, colocando todas sus piezas en el orden que corresponde y según los números con que se hallan notadas dichas piezas.

Últimamente, se previene que los gastos de remate y visura ocasionados en dichas diligencias quedan a cargo de la administración el satisfazerlos.

D. Joseph Soler, administrador [signed]
D. Miguel Almela, administrador [signed]
D. Manuel Montoro [signed].[13] (my bold)

On 3 April 1754, fifteen *reales* were paid from the income of Nicolás Caro's entailment for the deed of obligation agreed to by Joseph Calbo and Francisco Galbis, master silversmiths, for the repair of the bed of Our Lady.[14]

As noted in the settlement obligations for the execution of this work, the bed pieces were numbered when they arrived at Elche, obviously to facilitate assembly, though this record has been lost. Furthermore, they would have been stored in disassembled form in boxes, since there is an existing receipt from 1753 for payment to Miquel Jeroni Ortiz, master locksmith, for his work "*en los caxones de la cama*" (on the boxes for the bed): the cost of 10 *escuadras* or *cantoneras*, 4 large *bisagras*, 12 small *anillas* to "*remendar la serraja del caxón largo, y una bisagra pequeña*" (mend the lock on the big box and a small hinge), three new locks and two keys, 2 hinges and a bolt, for a total of 33 *reales* and 9 *dineros*.[15]

This Portuguese bed was used in the church of Santa Maria de Elche for the first time in the octave of the Assumption in 1754. In that same year, other elements related to the church of Santa Maria and the *Misteri d'Elx* were renovated. In particular, it is known that there was a need to make a new platform stage for the sacred drama, specifically to adapt it to the sumptuousness and measurements of the Virgin's bed. Therefore, the municipal Chapter, in its session on 26 June, agreed the following:

> *Asimismo, todos los referidos señores, unánimes y conformes, teniendo consideración a la cortedad e indecencia del tablado que sirve en la zélebre festividad de María Santísima de la Asumpción, nuestra Patrona, y ser preciso ampliar el que sirve en su octava con motivo de la magnífica cama que se ha traydo de Portugal, manda a esta Señora por el señor Duque de Baños en su testamento, confiados de la integridad, inteligencia, aseo y devoción del señor don Pedro Ortiz de Rodrigo y Soler, y que con desinterés entrará gustoso a hacer este servicio a María Santísima, acordaron cometer este encargo a dicho señor Dn. Pedro para que lo ponga en execución con todo lo demás que le pareciere, conserniente al mayor lucimiento de dicha festividad, librándosele con su firma las cantidades necesarias de los efectos de su especial clavaría, precediendo ante todas cosas el recado de urbanidad a dicho señor Dn. Pedro y en su estado la orden conveniente al clavario.* [16]

They also made some new garnet velvet and gold braid curtains to decorate the church. On 14 August 1754, the new church organ was also unveiled, made under the direction of the Andalusian Leonardo Fernández Dávila, a prestigious master organ builder and creator, among others, of the organs in the Granada and Almeria cathedrals, as well as in the chapel of the Royal Palace and the Royal Monastery of La Encarnación, both in Madrid. The instrument in Elche was re-covered with a carved baroque box by the master of the city, Ignacio Castell, and inspected by, among others, the famed Murcian sculptor Francisco Salzillo.[17]

An interesting conserved receipt by the silversmith Francisco Galbis, dating from 29 August of 1754, after the bed's display during the octave of the Assumption reads: "*Recibí del Sr. mosén Tomás Lloret, como síndico de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, nueve reales corrientes y son por aver limpiado la cama de Nuestra Señora del polvo, cagadas de mosca* ..."(I received from Mr. Tomás Lloret, syndic of Our Lady of the Assumption, nine *reales* for cleaning the dust and fly droppings from the bed of Our Lady ...)[18]

The church of Santa Maria's later inventories list the bed among the objects and ornaments belonging to the image of the Virgin of the Assumption. It thus appears in the inventory conducted for the pastoral visit of the bishop of Orihuela, in 1816, alongside other elements used to dress it. This included six stools which came with it from Portugal and whose whereabouts were unknown by the beginning of the 20th century, as we can see:

> *Otrosí. Una* ***cama de palo santo guarnecida de plata*** *en la que se coloca Nuestra Señora. en su octava, que se compone de las piezas sujetas siguientes de plata:*
>
> *Otrosí.* ***Quatro ramos de frutas grandes, que se colocan al estremo de los quatro pilares.***
>
> *Otrosí.* ***Seis pomos de frutas y flores a la escalerilla.***
>
> *Otrosí.* ***Seis*** [in fact twelve] ***pequeños de bellotas para la misma.***
>
> *Otrosí.* ***Y seis sipreses también para la dicha cabecera.***
>
> *... Otrosí. Un cortinaje de terciopelo carmesí con galón para las quatro pilastras del presbiterio.*
>
> *Otrosí. Un cielo de cama color de plata para el uso de la octava de Nuestra Señora.*
>
> *Otrosí. Una cubierta de cama de terciopelo con galones.*
>
> *Otrosí. Un colchón de damasco color de limón.*
>
> *Otrosí. Una cortina de terciopelo carmesí con galón de oro para la cabezera de la cama de Nuestra Señora.*
>
> *Otrosí. Otra cubierta de cama superior de espolín de seda de color de rosa de plata y oro, que regaló Dª. Rafaela Juan de Soler.*
>
> *Otrosí. Otra de gasa de plata con punta de oro fino para cubrir a Nuestra Señora.*
>
> *... Seis taburetes de nogal vestidos de terciopelo carmesí con galón de oro.*
>
> *... Otrosí. Dos caxones de pino, el uno en donde están los escudos de dicho cortinaje, y el otro la colgadura del presbiterio, de la cama, cubierta de espolín de oro y plata, y el velo de gasa fina para cubrir la santa imagen.*[19] (my bold)

In another inventory, the *Inventario de las alhajas de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción*, conducted in 1841, is written: "*Una cama de ébano, con sus guarniciones de plata y cabecera, que contiene 6 cipreses, 6 ramos con granadas: doce ramitos con sus bellotas: cuatro ramitos en las extremidades, todo de plata*" (An ebony bed, with silver garnishing, and a headboard containing 6 cypresses, 6 bouquets with garnets, twelve small branches with acorns, and four small bouquets at the ends [of the posts], all in silver).[20]

The importance given in Elche to the Virgin bed is demonstrated by the information written by the city's learned chronicler, Pedro Ibarra y Ruiz (1858-1934), when the royal decree law of 9 August 1926 on the protection, conservation and acquisition of Spanish artistic heritage was implemented:

> *Rico mueble, presea de gran valor artístico es la* ***cama de ébano guarnecida con lujosos motivos de plata labrada***, ***regalo de un Aveiro de gloriosa memoria a la Virgen de la Asunción***, ***Patrona de Elche***, *cuya soberana imagen, JOYA estimadísima que el Concejo Municipal de 1370 recogió 'per a Elig'* [for Elche], *en los arenales de esta costa, se ostenta con apariencia de difunta en Santa María, durante el Octavario que prosigue a la Festa, recabado por la Municipalidad, de la Santa Sede, colocada en el Coro sobre el precioso lecho funerario, que* ***allá en las lejanías de la Historia portuguesa hubo de servir de tálamo nupcial***.[21] (my bold)

Description

The bed bequeathed by the Duke of Aveiro is a splendid example of Portuguese silverware from the second half of the 17th or early 18th century. It is a large "imperial bed" made, as mentioned above, of ebony (African ebony?).[22] It has four large turned posts at its corners garnished with silver and gilt bronze, crowned by four bouquets of flowers, probably opium poppies (*papaver somniferum*), also in silver. These posts support the white silk canopy framed by four carved and gilded wooden boards. The most impressive part of the bed is the headboard which the 18th-century document, transcribed here, calls "*escalerilla*". The visible part of the headboard is totally covered with silver repoussé pieces forming vases with flowers and other motifs. The headboard is crowned by pinnacles on which six bouquets of flowers and pomegranates are arranged, each one of them flanked by two small branches with acorns. In the middle of the headboard are six small arches supported on columns with a silver cypress with gilt cones in the centre of each. All of these plant motifs (pomegranates, acorns, cypresses and opium poppies) are also made of silver and allude to symbols of dreams and death, while also evoking ideas of life, resurrection and immortality.

During the octave of the Assumption, the bed is placed on a small wooden platform stage adjoining the front of the high altar of Santa María, which it was usual to decorate with a profusion of candelabra and plants, particularly basil for its symbolic value. Since 1798, the presbytery was covered with large red velvet

hangings, gold braid and Marian heraldry, which were also paid for by Nicolás Caro's entailment. The platform stage was described as follows by the Murcian writer Javier Fuentes y Ponte (1830-1903) in 1887:

> *El tablado segundo.- Libre ya el presbiterio así como el altar mayor, los carpinteros arman delante de éste el tablado que ha de quedar definitivamente para las demás funciones de Octava y Novenario, que consiste en tres frentes o delanteras de madera, imitando mármoles y teniendo en su parte superior un entablamento en que se ven esgrafiadas y corladas varias alegorías de la letanía lauretana. Coronado por una cornisa y una barandilla-balaustrada de madera imitando jaspe con oro, sobre cuyos pilarotes y pasamano están puestas ocho hachas de cera rizada y además varios ramos de flores artificiales.*[23]

The bed, in turn, was decorated with a silk bedspread and sumptuous cushions embroidered with Marian symbols. From the baldachin, tied by cords and tassels, hung fine silver tulle or mosquito net that protected the image and was only removed when the faithful climbed – via two sets of side steps – to venerate the image. This was adorned with the best dresses, crown and jewellery possessed and lay with its hands over its body in the position of a corpse – the position of the hands is no longer adhered to – and upon its face had the death mask, with eyes closed, that was used in the enactment of the *Festa d'Elx*. At its feet was always a sprig of jasmine. Javier Fuentes y Ponte described the bed at the end of the 19th century as follows:

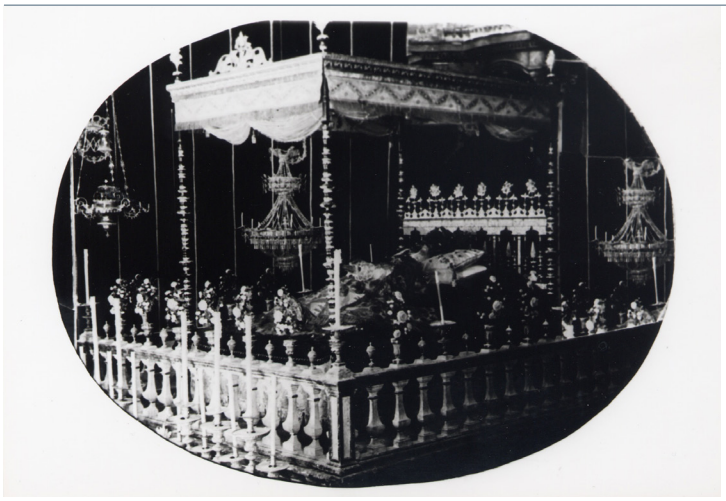
> *La cama regalada por el Duque de Baños.- Sobre este segundo tablado está puesta durante aquellos ocho días la cama de ébano torneado y plata maciza, de que trata uno de los libros de actas del Consejo de la Villa, cuyo extracto tomamos y repetimos de este modo: «En Cabildo de 26 de junio de 1754 se hallará que la magnífica cama que sirve en el octavario de la festividad de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, se trajo de Portugal, regalo de don Gabriel Ponce de León, Duque de Baños, a dicha augusta imagen, habiendo costado de blanquear los adornos de plata de que se compone y añadir varias piezas, 280 libras, o sean 4.200 reales, por el maestro Calvo, platero de Alicante. Y en 15 de agosto del mismo año, día de Nuestra Santa Patrona, fue la primera vez que se colocó en ella a esta Divina Señora para la celebración de las Salves, con que se la obsequia anualmente». Dicha cama tiene un tablero propio, de que se elevan en prolongación de sus pies, cuatro elegantes columnas de ébano torneadas y pulimentadas, ornamentando sus principales molduras varias y bien combinadas hojarascas de plata bruñida; la cabecera o respaldo la componen tres órdenes de balaustradas de ébano, siendo notables las series de cipreses y de rosales decorativos de plata, como también las demás piezas que con ellos alternan.*

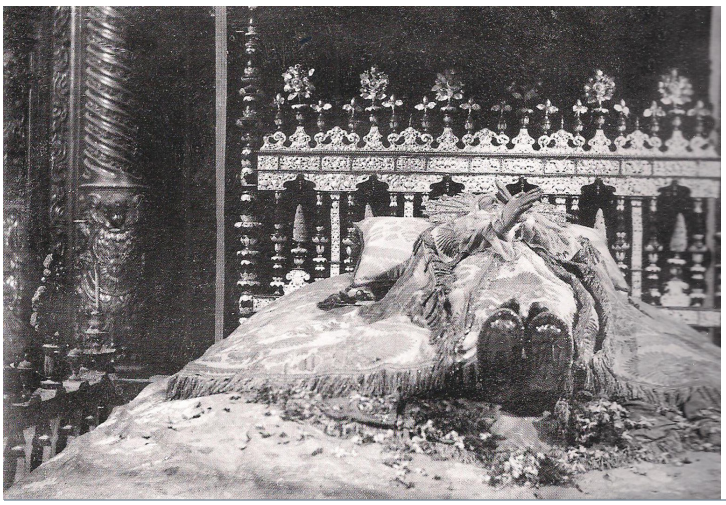
> *La cornisa de la cama y su velo.- Las columnas terminan sosteniendo una ancha cornisa corlada, hecha después con mal gusto y peor acuerdo, finalizando como extremidades de las dichas columnas, las perillas de plata que las corresponden; como no se relacionan con aquella, nos atrevemos a suponer, llegase la cama con cuatro barras de hoja de plata, que uniendo entre sí las columnas sirvieran para sostener y correr las cortinas o colgadura-dosel de que hemos hecho anterior indicación; pero luego queriéndolo variar hicieron dicha cornisa, de la cual, así que acaba la misa mayor o la novena por mañana y tarde, cae una finísima muy clara cortina mosquitera de tul y oro por los cuatro frentes de la cama.*[24] [fig. 3]

All of this ornament was actually simplified, but the Virgin bed continues to represent an important point of reference in local religious life with many inhabitants of Elche, whatever their class, circumstances or ideology, approaching their patroness, the Blessed Mary, in the days after the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin to kiss her feet. [fig. 4]

It should also be noted that on the days of the octave, the so-called *Salves a la Virgen* are celebrated. These are ceremonies in which, in addition to a Mass with a homily, the *Salve solemne* is sung, as well as the *Gozos* of the Assumption of the Virgin, a 17th-century composition. These are performed by some of the singers of the *Misteri d'Elx* from the organ pulpit and both the music and the verses are closely related to those of the Assumption play.

Mention must also be made of several references from the early 20th century that clarify how this monumental bed was also used for the Mystery Play of Elche, specifically in the first part, or *Vespra*, as the Virgin Mary's deathbed. Scholars such as Felip Pedrell[25] and the Baron de Alcahalí[26] refer to this in their respective descriptions of this celebration. It is my belief, however, that these authors must be confused here, given that the large size of the bed[27] makes it highly unlikely that it was used in the small space where the play were staged. Moreover, as known, the image of the Virgin must be hidden under the bed of the *Festa* so that at the moment of enactment of Mary's death, the child playing her role can be easily replaced by it. This would be completely impossible if the bed bequeathed by the Duke of Aveiro were used.





[fig. 3]
The Virgin of Elche lying on her bed during the Octave of the Assumption in 1901.

Photographs by Pedro Ibarra.

Courtesy of MUVAPE





[fig. 4] **The Virgin of Elche lying on her bed during the Octave of the Assumption in the present day.**

Photo (left): Dani Pastor | Photo (right): Sixto Marco
Courtesy of MUVAPE

Interventions and annual assembly

After the general cleaning and restoration performed when the bed arrived in Elche, other later and minor interventions were documented. For example, in 1756 the aforementioned silversmith Francisco Galbis was paid 5 *reales* to "*empapelar la cama y clavar algunas tachuelas*" (wrap the bed and insert some nails) and 1 *real* to "*componer dos piesas rompidas de madera de dicha cama*" (mend two pieces of broken wood on the said bed).[28] In 1799, 13 *libras* and 8 *sueldos* were paid for the printed cotton fabric (*indiana*) used "*para cubierta de los seis taburetes de terciopelo propios de Nuestra Señora, hechuras del zastre y unas vidrieras de christal que se compusieron*" (to cover the six velvet stools of Our Lady, for the tailoring and for the stained glass) the previous year.[29] In 1801, the master carpenter and wood turner charged 21 *reales* for three "*tablicas*" (small boards), materials to mend the bed pillars, plus respective labour.[30] In 1806, 20 "*reales de vellón*" were spent on "*seis tornillos y nueve ganchicos para la cama de la santa imagen*" (six screws and nine hooks for the bed of the holy image).[31] And in 1807, the silversmith Francisco Galbis was again paid 14 *reales* "*por componer una pieza de la cama y clavetear otras muchas*" (to fix a piece of the bed and nail many others).[32]

At the end of the 18th century, every year the administrators of Nicolás Caro's entailment also had fixed annual costs of 19 *reales* and 8 *dineros* to "*bajar y subir la cama*" (carry the bed to and from) the church archive and the high altar, and "*por armarla y desarmarla*" (to mount and disassemble it), respectively.[33] In 1820, 30 *reales de vellón* were paid "*por hacer el tablado y cama de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción en el octavario de la función de agosto*" (to build the platform stage and bed for Our Lady of the Assumption for the August octave) (1822).[34] Concerning this platform, it is known that in 1815 94 *pesos* were paid to make "*las barandi*[lla]*s que faltaron en el año pasado para el tablado de Nuestra Señora y por los platillos de los candeleros y tornillos que se compusieron*" (the banisters that were not made last year for the platform of Our Lady and for the candle bobeches and the screws to secure them). In that same year of 1815, another 56 *libras* were also paid to gild and stucco the bed's balustrades.[35]

In 1844, the silversmith Félix Gómez received 840 *reales* to "*limpiar, blanquear, dorar y componer varias piezas de plata de la cama de la imagen de Nuestra Señora de la Asumción*" (clean, polish, gild and arrange various pieces of silver for the bed with the image of Our Lady of the Assumption).[36] And years later, in 1862, 1,300 *reales* were paid to Juan Brando for the "*valor de dorar, limpiar y componer los adornos de plata que contiene la cama de la Virgen*" (work to gild, clean and arrange the silver adornments on the bed of the Virgin).[37]

In the second half of the 20th century, for the inauguration of the first museum of the Basilica of Santa María, which took place on 29 December 1958, Juan Gómez Brufal (1912-1982), the administrator of Nicolás Caro's entailment and honorary archivist of Santa María, restored several pieces missing from the bed which was displayed in a prominent position in the parish museum. Casa Orrico de Valência, a company specialised in religious gold and silverwork, was commissioned to undertake the work, as confirmed by the respective conserved correspondence. From June 1958, therefore, the twelve acorn branches and a piece of ebony to replace the missing pieces were sent from Elche for restoration. In January 1959, different fragments of silver and wood bouquets were also sent for restoration, noting that "*con esta reconstrucción ya queda acabada la parte suelta y posteriormente comenzaremos el frontal para acabar más tarde con las columnas*" (with this reconstruction, the loose part will be complete and then work will begin on the headboard and end followed later by the posts).[38] In August 1959, the work undertaken on the bed's pomegranate bouquets until that date was listed:

> 3 ramos nuevos de plata.
> A los 3 viejos se le ha hecho en plata lo siguiente:
> a uno, 1 granada completa, 6 hojas y dos cintas. A otro, 5 hojas y 3 cintas.
> Soldar varias piezas.
> A los jarritos, 4 hojas de plata, soldar varias hojitas y hacer varios clavitos de plata.
> *2 cuellos de metal para bajo de los jarritos.*
> *Restaurar y bruñir todo lo antes dicho.*[39]

It must be noted that the work of assembling and dismantling the bed and the platform stage supporting it, which took place on the nights of 15 and 22 August, respectively, was handed to the Santa María carpenter, who was also responsible for building the other temporary elements, such as the Holy Week Monument

and funeral tomb.[40] For over seventy years, the August bed has been installed and mounted by the Elche cabinetmaker Matías Boix, *Maciano* (†), and later by his direct family members according to his instructions. Together, they have made the conservation and contemplation of this treasure possible.

The installation process takes place on the night of 15 August and begins at the same time as the scenery for the *Misteri d'Elx* is taken down. Firstly, the stage is assembled at the front of the Basilica's high altar on wooden trestles at the same height as the celebratory table with side steps and covered by boards. The bed is mounted on the platform: first the headboard and its external structure, supported by four posts, and then the interior wood forming the base and the angled boards allowing the Virgin effigy to be seen from the church. The silver vegetal adornments are placed on the headboard. The canopy is assembled in the sacristy and mounted on the upper section of the bed, supported on columns, with four silver bouquets for finials. Both the canopy and the covering of the bed are hung by the chambermaids of the Virgin of the Assumption. A mattress – made of wool until a few years ago – is stretched over the bed's wooden structure and covered with a sumptuous bedspread and large embroidered cushions. Finally, the image of the Virgin is lain on the bed. This has been previously decorated by the chambermaids who place the mask with the closed eyes on the face to simulate her Dormition, arrange the dress and finally position the imperial crown. Simultaneously, the red velvet curtains with gold braid, renovated in 1905, that surround the Virgin's bed are unfolded in the church presbytery. Around midnight, the operation is concluded and the chambermaids and assemblers of the bed are the first to venerate the effigy by kissing its feet followed by a devotion that is passed down from generation to generation. The next morning, this ritual is open to all of the faithful who file past the recumbent effigy in large numbers during the octave of the Assumption. During dismantling, on 22 August, at the end of the last *Salves*, the same procedures are followed but in reverse.

On Matías Boix's initiative, in 1989 the last big restoration of the bed began. After many years of devotional use, the bed showed some damage (metal decoration coming loose from the wood, broken and blackened silver pieces, scratches in the wood, etc.). On the instructions of the director of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes

de San Carlos de Valencia, Felipe Garín, the prestigious Valencian silversmith Francisco Pajarón Andreu (†) was hired to undertake the work. He planned the full restoration of the bed in several stages: first the four columns, at one a year, and then the headboard. This made it possible to fund the costs incurred through the contributions of the faithful of Elche, in addition to several extraordinary grants from the municipality, the Patronate of the *Misteri d'Elx* and the administrators of Nicolás Caro's entailment, and to ensure the special technical involvement of Gaspar Jaén i Urban and Jaime Brotons Guardiola.[41]

According to the dossier on this restoration project organised by master Pajarón, the bed, which in his opinion certainly dated from the 17th century, was totally dismantled, its wood polished, and all of the adornments were restored and, in some cases, remade, based on those which were still intact. The master silversmith also replaced the internal wooden parts in the detachable decorations with other metal ones to facilitate assembly. In summary…

> *La restauración del Llit de la Mare de Déu d'Elx.- Se ha restaurado por completo, respetando su estructura y los apliques decorativos de plata, así como el cuerpo de ébano y los bronces, es decir, lo deshecho a rehacer, consolidando todas sus partes con la técnica profesional de orfebrería y ebanistería, su croquis y notas, explican los procesos intervenidos.*
> *Contenido global del Llit, de piezas en plata, piezas de bronce, piezas de madera, piezas de hierro, sus pesos, horas trabajadas.*
>
Plata, 485 piezas, pesan	*13.286 gramos*
Bronce, 549 piezas, pesan	*19.576 gramos*
Madera, 310 piezas, pesan	*38.070 gramos*
Hierro, 27 piezas, pesan	*39.510 gramos*
Total de piezas,	*1.381*
Total de pesos,	*105.869 gramos*
Total horas trabajadas en la restauración,	*3.126*

> *La terminación de las piezas como el patinado y barnizado, así como los dorados en oro fino y barnizado, otros accesorios en el apartado de gastos exteriores, horas trabajadas exteriores, que no están incluidas.*[42]

Presently, the headboard of the bed and the upper part of two of its posts are on permanent display at the Museo de La Virgen de la Asunción, Patrona de Elche (MUVAPE) [fig. 5], housed in the Basilica, in a depiction of the Dormition of the Virgin[43]. In addition, the complete bed was shown outside the church of Santa



[fig. 5] **Elements of the bed displayed at the Museum of the Virgin of the Assumption, the Patroness of Elche.**

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Courtesy of the museum

Maria on two occasions: the first, in 1975, in an exhibition organised by the Patronate of the *Misteri d'Elx* on the Elche play at the Aula de Cultura Hort del Colomer in this city; the second, in 1982, at the Complejo Cultural de San José, in an exhibition also dedicated to the sacred Elche play prepared by the municipality.

The Virgin of Elche bed, brought from Portugal by decision of the Duke of Aveiro, is one of the most important historical objects in the Basilica of Santa María and the city of Elche itself [fig. 6]. This is not only due to its material value but above all for its symbolic value. It is like an extraordinary showcase for the image of the city's Patroness, who becomes the focus of the devotion of the people of Elche during the days of the octave of the Feast of the Assumption.

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[fig. 6] **Headboard and decorative silver elements from the bed bequeathed by the Duke of Aveiro.**

Portugal, 17th century (second half) - 18th century (beginning).

© MUVAPE | Photos: Sixto Marco
Courtesy of the museum

NOTES

1 Archivo de la Basílica de Santa María de Elche (ABSME), *Vissita de Santa Maria feta en lo any MDLXXXXVI per lo señor don Joseph Esteve, bisbe de Oriola y del Consell de Sa Magestat* (Sig. 10/3). Translation: "Idem, two woollen mattresses / Idem, seven crimson satin cushions garnished with gold fringing, five large and one small, with the same garnish / Idem, two sheets made of silk [red] / Idem, a crimson taffeta bedspread lined with blue fabric on the back / Idem, an old crimson taffeta bedspread with an edging band of yellow taffeta / Idem, a canopy of four pieces of crimson taffeta cloth with crimson silk fringing ..."

2 ABSME, *Colecsió de varies escriptures autèntiques*, vol. 3 (Sig. 195), unnumbered. See Castaño García, 1991b: 163-165.

3 Only one other bed of similar size, morphology and silver decoration is known to exist. It is found in the National Palace of Sintra (Portugal) and belonged to the dukes of Cadaval. Recent scientific analysis undertaken during its restoration concluded that the main species of wood used in the Cadaval bed is Mozambique blackwood (*Dalbergia melanoxylon, pau-preto* and *pau de Moçambique* in Portuguese, also known erroneously as African ebony and Mozambique ebony). This dark and very hard wood from Mozambique and other parts of tropical Africa, mentioned in 17th-century manuscript sources, is similar to real ebony (*Diospyros spp*). Future analysis of the wood in the Virgin of Elche bed will allow us to identify other species and to determine how they match or differ from the Cadaval bed.

4 Analysis of the Cadaval bed identified the metals used: copper alloy, gilt copper and silvered copper; iron alloy and gilt iron; and mostly silver alloy and gilt silver. A study of the Elche bed is necessary to determine whether any metal variants exist.

5 As mentioned in Salvador Perpinyà's manuscript *Antigüedades y glorias de la villa de Elche* (1705). See Escartí / Sansano, 1995.

6 Nicolás Caro Martí (Elche, †1666). Nobleman and doctor of theology. After becoming a widower, he was ordained a priest of the Basilica of Santa María. The entailment granted by the *vínculo* was included in the last will and testament of Nicolás Caro in 1661. His granddaughter, Isabel Caro, inherited all of the properties in 1666, but her only child became a nun. It was stipulated in the testament that on breaking the line of family succession, as occurred at the beginning of the 18th century, the entailment would be passed to the Virgin of the Assumption, an image venerated in the Basilica of Elche.

7 Archivo Histórico Municipal de Elche (AHME), *Poder. El Doutor Dn. Carlos Montoro y otros a Dn. Manuel Ramires*, 02-08-1747. Notarial note by Francisco Gil de Agulló (Sig. SHPN/593), f. 46. Translation: "Don Manuel Ramires, a resident of the court of Lisbon, Kingdom of Portugal, so that, in his own name and on behalf of his own people, he might receive and collect from Don Sebastián Cabezón and other executors of His Grace Don Gabriel Ponce de Léon, Duke of Aveiro, now deceased, a *palosanto* wood bed, garnished with silver, chamber curtains, and other pieces, and furniture that His Grace, in his final testament, ordered and bequeathed to the aforementioned blessed image of Our Lady of Assumption ..." Payment for the power of attorney can be found in the ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración del Vínculo instituido por Nicolás Caro (1738-1759) (Sig. 17/1).

8 AHME, *Poder. Los S.S. administradores de los bienes de Nuestra Señora de la Asumpción, a favor de Dn. Luis Cassou*, 05-05-1753, Protocolo notarial de Marceliano Soler (Sig. SHPN/1002), f. 112-112v. We would like to thank the *Protocolo Notarial* for this reference and Jaime Maciá Payá, Elche researcher, for the previous note. Translation: "... and any other person in whose charge it may be, a *palosanto* wood bed, garnished with silver, with its hangings and six stools belonging to it, assets the Duke of Aveiro bequeathed to this holy image in his final testament ..." The power of attorney, paid for on 16 May 1753, is held at ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración del Vínculo instituido por Nicolás Caro (1738-1759) (Sig. 17/1), though here it is shown that the document was issued in the name of Joseph Casson.

9 Ibarra y Ruiz, 1917. Translation: "Your Grace, / In recent days, the clergy of Santa María have received, by ship from Lisbon, the bed with its hangings and six stools bequeathed to this holy image of Our Lady of the Assumption by your Grace, the Duke of Aveiro (may God bless him). The gift is worthy of the bequeather, and the recommended recipient, for in this Kingdom of Valencia it is certain that no other similar bed exists, the wood is *palosanto*, almost fully covered in silver, especially executed, with a chased and embossed headboard, and in addition the different bouquets of fruit and six solid silver pine cones. The hangings, as well as the six stools, are of crimson velvet with gold braid, but cannot be used in these last days of the octave for they must be cleaned and some pieces replaced that time, neglect or greed have ruined, as explained to the people who have so yearned for the bed which they have now obtained with unimaginable joy, due less to curiosity and more to imponderable devotion to this divine image to whom they wish to serve in their famous feast of the Assumption. 23 August 1753 (Félix Montes)".

10 Ibarra y Ruiz, 1917. Translation: "Dear Félix Montes, It is clear from your letter of 23rd of this month that the clergy of Santa Maria of this town have received the bed with its hangings and six stools bequeathed by my uncle, the Duke of Aveiro, to Our Lady of the Assumption, blessed be her glory, of which I am most happy, and also that it is all in the very same condition that you say. The duke." In 1752, the Duchy of Aveiro passed to José de Mascarenhas da Silva Lencastre, Marquis of Gouveia and Count of Santa Cruz, after a plea to António de Lencastre y Ponce de León, Duke of Baños, and nephew of Gabriel Ponce de León, the donor of the bed.

11 ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración… (Sig. 17/1). Translation: "My dear sir, my correspondents in Lisbon have sent me the invoices paid to collect, pack and ship the bed and all of its accessories brought here to the Virgin, amounting to 27 *pesos*, 2 *sueldos*, 2 *dineros*, and the shipments and costs I have incurred amounting to 14 *pesos*, 9 *sueldos*, 4 *dineros*, altogether 41 *pesos*, 11 *sueldos*, 6 *dineros*, which you might charge to the administrators and deposit in my account, as I shall credit it to yours. As your humble servant, I pray that God may watch over you for many years to come. Alicante, 17 September 1753. / Please find the letter from Lisbon and the original bill enclosed …"

12 As mentioned in a previous note, the wood used in the Cadaval bed in the National Palace of Sintra is mostly African blackwood from Mozambique, although smaller amounts of Brazilian species such as jacaranda, *fava-de-rosca* and *angelim* were also found. On this subject, see the chapter in this book by those responsible for restoring the Cadaval bed.

13 ABSME, *Capítulos con los quales se ha de haser el remate de componer la cama de Nuestra Señora de la Assumpción de la villa de Elche, la misma que mandó en su testamento el excelentísimo Duque de Aveyro en el Reino de Portugal*, 1754 (Sig. 12/9). Translation: "Obligations to undertake the repair of the bed of Our Lady of the Assumption in the town of Elche, which was sent from the Kingdom of Portugal by will of the Duke of Aveiro. / First, the master is obliged to undertake the repair of all bronze pieces missing from the bed, and to heat gild them; as well as others with imperfect gilding, which must also be heat gilded so everything is uniform. / Idem, the master is obliged to make all of the silver pieces missing from the bed and also mend broken pieces, one or the other, accordingly, that match those on the bed so they are all uniform. / Idem, that all the silver on the bed, both applied to the headboard and the four posts, including the detachable bouquets, cypresses, acorns and banches, must be cleaned and polished, removing all fixed pieces on the headboard and posts for cleaning and polishing. / Idem, that all expense on the silver and gold necessary to restore all of the bed's pieces, both newly made and partly missing fragments, shall be paid for by the master. / Idem, that all the silver pieces on the headboard and posts of the bed shall be attached in place with silver nails. / Idem, that all *palosanto* wood on said bed shall be the master's obligation to clean and polish so that it is absolutely perfect. / Idem, that the repair of the bed shall be concluded on the fifteenth of July of the present year of 1754. / Idem, that the master shall perform said work in the town of Elche under the eye of the administrators and syndic of the estate of Our Lady of Assumption. / Idem, that the master of said work and repair of the bed must provide a guarantor recognised by the administrators. / Idem, that in adjusted payment for repair of the bed, half of the sum shall be paid in advance at the beginning and the rest after completion and expert inspection, and after the bed is mounted with all of its pieces in their correct place and according to the numbering assigned to each one. / Finally, be advised that all finishing and inspection costs mentioned are the responsibility of the administrators. / Joseph Soler, administrator [signed]. Miguel Almela, administrator [signed]. Manuel Montoro [signed]."

14 ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración… (Sig. 17/1).

15 ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración… (Sig. 17/1).

16 AHME, Cabildo del 26-06-1754, Libro de actas municipales (Sig. a/85). Translation: "All of the mentioned gentlemen, unanimously, in consideration of the exiguity and dire state of the platform stage used in the celebrated Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our Patroness, and the need to enlarge that used in the Octave due to the magnificent bed brought to Portugal, sent to Our Lady by the Duke of Baños, in his testament, entrusted by the integrity, intelligence, composure and devotion of Mr. Pedro Ortiz de Rodrigo y Soler, and who will provide this service to Saint Mary with disinterest and pleasure, agreed to hand this task to said Mr. Pedro to ensure its execution is performed as deemed fit to add greater shine to said festivity, for which, with greatest respects, and upon his signature, he shall provide the necessary number of nails."

17 Castaño García, 2006: 33-61.

18 ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración… (Sig. 17/1).

19 ABSME, Libro de visitas pastorales (1755-1850) (Sig. 11), undated. Translation: "Item. A *palosanto* wood bed garnished with silver on which Our Lady is placed, in the Octave, comprised by the following pieces of silver: / Idem. Four large fruit bouquets placed at the top of the four posts. / Idem. Six bouquets of fruits and flowers on the headboard. / Idem. Six [in fact twelve] small acorn pomes also on the headboard. / Idem. And six cypresses also for said headboard. / ... Idem. Crimson velvet hangings with braid for the four pilasters on the presbytery. / Idem. A silvered bed canopy for use in the octave of Our Lady. / Idem. A velvet bedspread with braid. / Idem. A lemon-coloured damask mattress. / Idem. A crimson velvet curtain with gold braid for the headboard on the bed of Our Lady. / Idem. A coverlet of pink, gold and silver silk fabric, offered by Rafaela Juana de Soler. / Idem. Another in silver gauze with fine gold ornaments to cover Our Lady. / ... Six walnut stools upholstered with crimson velvet with gold braid. / ... Idem. Two pine boxes, one to store the coats of arms on said hangings and the other the hangings for the presbytery and the bed, with a gold and silver silk fabric cover and also a fine gauze shroud to cover the holy image."

20 AHME, *Colección de noticias antiguas y modernas pertenecientes a la villa de Elche,* Pedro Miralles de Imperial y Gómez (attributed) (Sig. b/329), 1845, vol. II, p. 314-318.

21 Ibarra y Ruiz, 1926: 24. Translation: "A sumptuous piece of furniture, of great artistic value, the ebony bed garnished with luxurious motifs in silver, a gift from Aveiro to the Virgin of the Assumption, the Patronnes of Elche, whose sovereign image, a highly esteemed jewel that the Municipal Council of 1370 encountered `*per a Elig´* [for Elche] in the sand along the shore, is presented with the deceased Blessed Mary, during the Octave following the *Festa*, obtained by the municipality from the Holy See, placed in the Choir on the precious funerary bed, which in times past in Portuguese history could have been used as a nuptial bed."

22 The *palosanto* wood mentioned in some documents may refer to the bed's interior friezes or may be due to a mistake or the confusion of those who described it.

23 Fuentes y Ponte, 1887: 207-208. Translation: "The second platform stage.- Once the presbytery and the high altar are clear, the carpenters mount the definitive wooden platform in front of them for the Octave and Novena. This is formed by three sides of wood imitating marble and with an entablature in the upper part where various allegories from the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary are represented by painting in sgraffito and gold effect varnish. It is crowned with a wooden cornice and balustrade imitating jasper with gold on whose pillarets and banister are placed eight thick wax candles and various bouquets of artificial flowers."

24 Fuentes y Ponte, 1887: 207-208. Translation: "The bed offered by the Duke of Baños.- For those eight days, on this second platform stage is placed the turned ebony and silver bed, noted in one of the book of minutes of the Town Council, whose extract I transcribe: 'In the chapter of 26 June 1754, it became known that the magnificent bed used in the octave of the Feast of Our Lady of the Assumption was brought from Portugal, a gift from Gabriel Ponce de Léon, Duke of Baños, to this august image, for which 280 *libras*, that is 4,200 *reales,* was spent by master Calvo, a silversmith from Alicante, to clean and polish the silver decoration of which it is comprised and to add a few pieces. And on 15 August of this year, the day of Our Patroness, this Divine Lady was placed on it for the first time for the celebration of the *Salves*, that is observed every year.' The said bed has its own platform stage, from which rise, as an extension of the legs, four turned and polished elegant ebony posts with its main mouldings ornamented with various and well-matched polished silver vegetal motifs; the headboard comprises three tiers of ebony balustrades, notably the series of decorative silver cypresses and rosebush motifs, and the other pieces that alternate with them. / The bed's cornice and veil.- A wide cornice of later creation in poor taste and lacking harmony is supported by posts crowned by corresponding silver adornments; as the posts and silver adornments do not match the cornice, we dare to suppose that the bed arrived with four bars of silver leaf which, joining the posts together, served to hold and draw the curtains or canopy-hangings mentioned. But in a desire to alter it, said cornice was made, from which, as soon as the main Mass or morning and afternoon novenas are over, a very fine and transparent tulle and gold mosquito net falls over the four sides of the bed."

25 Pedrell, 1951: 17. This is a translation of a short passage of the original article published in French in 1901. Pedrell, decribing the staging of the *Misteri,* writes: "*después, sobre la escena o catafalco, un magnífico lecho de ébano con incrustaciones de plata, que sirve para la muerte dela Virgen*".

26 Ruiz de Lihory (Baron of Alcahalí), 1903: 64.

27 The approximate dimensions of the Elche bed are 265 cm (height) x 185 cm (width) x 240 cm (length). The approximate dimensions of the Sintra bed, in turn, are 296 cm (height) x 210 cm (width) x 232 cm (length).

28 ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración... (Sig. 17/1).

29 ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración... (Sig. 19/1).

30 ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración ... (Sig. 19/1).

31 ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración ... (Sig. 19/1).

32 ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración ... (Sig. 19/1).

33 ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración... (Sig. 17/1).

34 ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración... (Sig. 19/2).

35 ABSME, Recibos y libranzas de la administración... (Sig. 19/2).

36 AHME, Administración del Vínculo de Caro: Libro de cautelas de 1844 (Sig. 28/4).

37 AHME, Cuentas presentadas por Francisco Bernad Agulló, administrador del Vínculo de Caro, del año 1862 (Sig. 28/16).

38 ABSME, Copia de carta de Juan Gómez Brufal a Casa Orrico, 29-01-1959. Correspondencia del Vínculo del doctor Caro. It is uncertain whether the bed's headboard or posts were restored at this time.

39 ABSME, Carta de Casa Orrico a Juan Gómez Brufal, 05-08-1959. Correspondencia del Vínculo del doctor Caro. Translation: "3 new silver bouquets. / For the three old ones, the following: for one, 1 whole pomegranate, 6 leaves and two ribbons. For the other, 5 leaves and 3 ribbons. / Solder various pieces. / For the little vases, 4 silver leaves, solder various small leaves and make several silver nails. / 2 metal pieces for the little vases. / Restore and polish everything."

40 Castaño García, 2013: 33-53.

41 The leaflet published by the Ajuntament d'Elx (1991), *El Llit de la Mare de Déu d'Elx*, stemmed from this restoration project on the Elche bed.

42 Archivo del Patronato del Misteri d'Elx (APME), *El Llit de la Mare de Déud'Elx*, [Francisco Pajarón Andreu], 1997 (Sig. 154/13). Translation: "Restoration of the *Llit de la Mare de Déu d'Elx*.- Full restoration, respecting the wooden structure and the silver adornments, as well as the ebony and bronze pieces; the broken parts were remade and consolidated using silversmith and cabinetmaking techniques. The sketches and notes explain the processes followed. / The total content of the *Llit*, the pieces of silver, bronze, wood and iron, their weight, and the hours of work. / Silver: 485 pieces weighing 13,286 grammes / Bronze: 549 pieces weighing 19,576 grammes / Wood: 310 pieces weighing 38,070 grammes / Iron: 27 pieces weighing 39,510 grammes / Total no. of pieces: 1,381 / Total weight: 105,869 grammes / Total hours of work: 3,126 / The finishing, such as patination and varnishing, as well as the fine gilding and varnishing, other accessories under external expenditure and external working hours are not included."

43 See Castaño / Jaén, 2011: 325-356.

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